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ILCHESTER LECTURES
ON
COMPARATIVE LEXICOGRAPHY.

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ON

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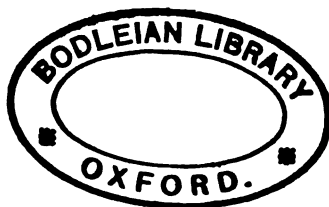
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PREFACE.

DELIVERED before the University of Oxford, these Lectures were intended to serve a double object. Whilst discussing some points of Slavic and Latin philology, I aimed at illustrating Comparative Lexicography, a sister science of Comparative Grammar, whose formation and uses I have repeatedly endeavoured to advocate.

A brief account of the existing discrepancy between the two Russian races and languages opens the book. Of the lexicological details given, and the conceptual estimates taken in these introductory chapters, it may be fairly said that they are an attempt at tilling virgin soil.

An inquiry into Russian, Polish, and Latin synonyms follows. The comparative dissection of a few vocables, indicative of Liberty and Society notions, besides analysing the Slavic mind with the help of the language-test, will, it is hoped, sufficiently demonstrate the method adopted. It cannot be too emphatically asserted, that, on being properly investigated, the words, forms, and con-

structions of every language are found to display a comprehensive view of the universe, its things, qualities, and transactions, as conceived by each nation after its own peculiar fashion and style.

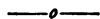
To complete the systematic analysis of the dictionary, it should, therefore, be supplemented by a corresponding inquiry into grammar, the scrutiny of each verbal notion under conceptual categories being coupled with the examination of synonymous grammatical forms and constructions.

It is by studying grammar exclusively according to parts of speech—at once the most abstract and least instructive method, though the one most indispensable for acquiring rudiments—that we are apt to lose sight of the connection existing between ideas expressed by inflexion, and the same concepts as conveyed in independent words.

As regards the etymologies cited, the reader, should he wish to follow up the subject beyond the details given in the concluding chapter, is referred to the author's *Linguistic Essays and Coptic Researches*.

OXFORD, *February* 15, 1883.

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I.

*THE SLAVIFICATION OF THE
FINNISH AREA.*

A

I.

THERE are parts of the earth, uniform on the surface, but concealing a multitude of divers strata disposed at a small depth from the monotonous crust. Wherever the deeper layers are covered with alluvial and diluvial deposits, the surface is rendered homogeneous, while the subsoil retains all its original diversity. As in geology, so it is in ethnology. Not to speak of uncivilised or semi-civilised races inhabiting remote quarters of the globe, nearly all European nations include a variety of heterogeneous elements with their former or actual differences hidden from view by fortuitous identity of language.

This remark applies equally to all the principal nationalities of the Continent. Everywhere foreign ingredients have been politically annexed, and linguistically embodied, by physical or intellectual force. Spain, chiefly Arabic in the south, Teuton in the centre, Celtic and Basque in north and east, is nevertheless outwardly Spanish everywhere. France, Roman in the south, Celtic in the centre and west, and Teutonic in considerable portions of the north and north-east, is yet very French

4 THE SLAVIFICATION OF THE FINNISH AREA.

throughout. Germany, with a purely Teutonic north-west, combines a strong Celtic alloy in the musical and imaginative south, and a considerable Slavonic and Lithuanian admixture in the frigid and reasoning north-east. Yet *the one* speech of Fatherland is uniformly heard in all these various regions. Neither are the Slav nationalities less diversified. Of the southern Slavs, the Serbs and Croats are pre-eminently Slav; but the Bosnian is semi-Turk, the Montenegrin and Dalmatian is at least half Albanian, and the Bulgar is a Finno-Tatar, and a comparatively recent immigrant from the Ural mountains. Despite their dissimilar origin, however, Serbs, Croats, Bosnians, Dalmatians and Montenegrins speak apparently the same tongue, and the Bulgarian sister dialect closely approximates the others of the same geographical group. Farther north the Bohemian Czech has swallowed up not a few Germans, tinging his speech with Teutonic idioms. The Pole, too, adds various foreign elements to his primary Slavonic stock. Danes, Germans, and Turk-Tatars are with tolerable distinctness traced as conquerors, who formed the Poles into the first commonwealth they ever possessed. In Russia the medley is quite as great. In that country the majority of the people are actually not of the descent popularly understood to be indicated by their name. Slavs and Slavdom being nowadays so much identified with the mighty

name of Rus, this part of our subject would seem to call for a few elucidatory remarks, even were it not intimately connected with the linguistic inquiry in hand.

When Rurik the Swede, towards the end of the ninth century, occupied North-Western Russia from the Baltic to Novgorod and Tver, the people he subjected to his rule were Slavs, seemingly without government, and easily reduced to obedience by the bold and imperious Northmen. Rurik's heir penetrated as far south as Kieff; while his later successors, in less than a century's time, annexed the far-stretching eastern lands down to the river Oka and the ancient town of Susdal. The eastern lands thus added were entirely distinct from the western or Slavonic possessions of the Rurikian dynasty, being Finno-Tataric in point of race and speech;* but the diversity of the subject elements was hidden under the identity of the ruling nation. Swedes in those days calling themselves Rothrmen, *i.e.*, Ruddermen, or sailors,† the common appellation of Rothr,

* The term Finns is used throughout as a generic appellation of the most westernly branch of the great Finno-Tataric-Mongolian family of speech.

† The inhabitants of the Oestergötland and Upland shores were formerly called Rods-karlar, 'rudder-men,' just as the Norwegian fishermen go to this day by the name of 'Rods-folk' or 'Ross-folk.' Hence 'Ruotsi,' the appellation given to the Swedes by their Finnish neighbours on the opposite shore, and 'Rus,' as pronounced by the Slavs. Cf. Rydquist, 'Svenska Sprakets Lagar;' Aasen, 'Norsk Ordbog;' Wiedemann, 'Estnisches Wörterbuch;' Thomsen, 'Relations between Ancient Russia and Scandinavia;' Ralston, 'Early Russian History.'

Ruothr, Roth, Ruth, was indiscriminately bestowed upon the entire extent of their dominion, no matter whether the inhabitants were Slavs or Finns. This is the origin of the promiscuous denomination of two distinct and, in historical times, altogether unrelated races by the name of a third, foreign to both. Still the foreign name did not attain equal prevalence in both sections of the Rurikian Empire. The Slavic portion of the Rurikian territory, indeed, was uniformly called Russ since the ninth century; but the Finnic division, which soon became politically separated from it, and probably never received more than a moiety of Swedish immigrants, for six centuries after the conquest went chiefly, and indeed almost exclusively, by the more ancient and indigenous names of Susdal and Muscovy. Not until 250 years ago, Muscovy, still more than half Finnic at that time, adopted the appellation of Rus for good. Having just then conquered from the Poles a portion of the Slavic country, to which the name more properly belonged, Muscovy thought it as well to announce her accession to the western community by dropping her Finnic designation, and taking that of the more European and more civilised race. Besides rendering her European, the style and title of Rus gave Muscovy an apparent right to fresh conquest in the same desirable quarter. With half the Ukraine taken from Poland and the title of a Russian

Grand Prince finally appropriated by the ruler of Muscovy, the wish to absorb the Southern Slav seemed to acquire the dignity of a legitimate dynastic claim. In this, it need hardly be said, Russia did neither more nor worse than every other power in those conquering days thought itself entitled to do.

The change of name was productive of characteristic consequences. Directly their Finnic and semi-Finnic neighbours began to don the name of Rus in preference to previous indigenous appellations, the Russians of Slavic descent, by whom the coveted epithet had been formerly all but monopolised, thought it necessary to mark their diversity from their new Finno-Tataric namesakes by pointedly calling themselves Slavic Russians. Up to that time they had, as a rule, contented themselves with the unqualified name of Russians. This reaction of the Muscovite change of name upon the designation of the Kieff Slavo-Russian people is curiously illustrated by the titles of the two oldest Slavo-Russian dictionaries extant. The first dictionary, by Lawrence Sisan, printed at Vilna in 1596, calls the language 'prosti Ruski dialect,' which means 'the Russian vernacular.' Thirty years later, upon a new dictionary being published at Kieff by Berinda, the author deemed it indispensable to describe his language on the title-page as Slaveno-Rosski, *i.e.*, Slavo-Russian, in contradis-

inction to the Finno-Russian speech prevailing at Moscow. The significant discrimination made is confirmed by a corresponding procedure on the part of the Muscovites themselves. When appropriating the ethnographic title of their western neighbours and recent subjects, the Muscovites did not take it over in its exact form and shape, but significantly altered its mould and general appearance. Slavic Russia always called herself simply Rus; but the princes of the Finnic territory, on espousing the new epithet, adorned it with the classical and eminently European termination of *ia*. What was Rus at Kieff, with a Latin tinge became Russia (Rossiya) at Moscow. Probably the wish to approximate culture by a classical name, and the policy of displaying independence by a distinct appellation, equally contributed to cause Muscovites to change Russ into Russia when dropping their more ancient Finnish patronymic. The political bearing of this cognominal metamorphosis may be traced down to the present day. The reunion of semi-Finnic Muscovy with a portion of Slavic Russia 250 years ago gave the signal for adopting the *denomination* of Russ: the more novel plan to establish Russian hegemony over all Slavs has lately encouraged Muscovite politicians to claim absolute Slavonic *descent*,—a pretension not at all included in the original appropriation of the style and title of Russ.

There is ample indigenous and foreign proof of the national diversity between the two sections of the Russian Empire since the beginning of their recorded history. In the eleventh and twelfth centuries the Rurikian dominion, divided into a number of independent and semi-independent principalities, extended about 700 miles north and south, and 600 miles east and west, comprising about one-fourth of the present area of European Russia. From Nestor, the earliest Russian historiographer, who penned his important chronicles towards the end of the eleventh century, we learn, that at least one-fourth of this original empire, including the principalities of Susdal, Vladimir, and Moscow, was Finnic, not Slavic, in speech. A missionary, scholar, and historian, Nestor carefully separates the Turanic people of Moscow from the Aryans of Kieff, and expressly points out the linguistic diversity of the two. The Nishni Novgorod Chronicler likewise calls the aboriginals of his province 'Finnish heathens.' Six hundred years later, *i.e.*, towards the end of the seventeenth century, barely two hundred years ago, the German traveller Olearius found the eastern portions of Moscow and Susdal still Finnic in speech. The fact is the more notable, as Kutko Khan, the last Finno-Tataric ruler of Moscow and Susdal, was dethroned by Ivan Dolgoruki, a member of the Rurikian family, full five hundred years before Olearius visited those parts. Five

hundred years of Rurikian rule, then, had not sufficed to Slavify Moscow. Towards the middle of the eighteenth century, L'Abbé Chappe d'Auteroche, sent to explore Russia in behalf of the French Government, noted in his diaries the same radical dissimilarity between Slav and Muscovite. It was only in the reign of the Empress Elizabeth Petrovna (1741-1762) that the Mordva Finns of Nishni Novgorod, Simbirsk, Samara, Pensa, Saratoff, Kasan, and Astrakhan were forced to adopt Christianity—a ceremony which did not prevent their adhering to pagan rites and foreign dialects till thirty or forty years ago.

The slow progress of Slavification is accounted for by a variety of geographical and political circumstances. Extending from Novgorod to Muscovy, and farther east across the low ridges of the Ural, the Finno-Tatar expanse was too large to be easily dotted with Slavonic settlements. When the Mongol territory was annexed, being a perfect wilderness of immense extent, it presented another obstruction to the progress of Slavonic speech. There were constantly fresh arrivals from Siberia, too; while, owing to the long political division separating the Eastern from the Western, the Finnic from the Slavonic principalities of the Rurikian dynasty, comparatively few Slavs (according to Karamsin and other historians) ever emigrated to the Turanic lands. Neither should

it be overlooked, that the Mongol inroad under Gingiskhan, though it overran, at the same time strengthened, the cognate Finno-Tatar element indigenous in the Eastern territories. In a paper upon Russian literature in the fourteenth century, the famous philologist Bouslayeff calls Rurikian Moscow a semi-Tatar camp, which made war upon Novgorod, Pskoff, Tver, and the north-western Slavs generally in the Mongol interest and with Mongol help. In point of fact, it was this semi-Tataric character which procured Muscovy the countenance of the pure and unmitigated Tatar, *i.e.*, the Mongol, and at the time of the Khanish suzerainty, enabled her to begin the subjugation of the neighbouring Slav, whose speech and name she subsequently proclaimed as her own. Thus strengthened in her Finno-Tataric proclivities even after she had turned the tables upon the common suzerain, and, with the help of the Slav, whom the Mongol permitted her to annex, had defeated and partially annexed the Mongol himself, Muscovy kept her ancient speech. Like many Asiatic tribes, Finno-Tatars indeed possess a wonderful facility in acquiring foreign tongues—a facility which, to a modern European, is next to unintelligible. Notwithstanding, however, this ready aptitude for linguistic denationalisation, which could hardly occur if old ideas were cherished and new ones appreciated in the way they are farther west, the antagonistic

agencies enumerated strongly asserted themselves until within recent times.

Accordingly, Finns, Tatars, and Mongols required a thousand years in the old Rurikian territory, and about half as much in the lands annexed since the overthrow of the Khanates, to attain their present state of more or less advanced Slavification. Passive recipients of everything foreign as they always have been, the Finns, Tatars, and Mongols of European Russia even now largely use their own idiom conjointly with Slav. To this day East Vladimir, the province east of Moscow, and the centre of old Susdal, knows its own Mordva dialect by the side of Slav. Nay, all over the more northern and eastern sections of the ancient Finnish and Tatar area, though the upper classes are Slav in speech, there remain millions of villagers and nomads with a Slavonic smattering and a marked partiality for Turanian word and phrase. As there are only some four hundred towns in the late Finno-Tatar territory, their Russian aspect, accordingly, neither mitigates nor disproves the Turanian descent of the immense majority of the rustics. In many parts the original tribal names of the Finno-Tataric race, Mer, Mordva, Tcheremiss, Tchuwasch, Votyak, Siryan, Teruchan, Karatai, Vogul, Baskhir, Pet-scheneg, &c., are still remembered and in use. The very capital of Moscow derives its name from the Moshka tribe, a subdivision of the Mordva. In

European Russia the total of this wholly or partially Slavified Finno-Tataric population to-day is calculated at 40,000,000 against only 15,000,000 of pure Russo-Slavonic origin.

The political events which contributed to deepen the original national discrepancy between Finno-Russian and Slavo-Russian cannot be too much dwelt upon. In the thirteenth century the semi-Slavified Finns of Muscovy, who had long been struggling with the Polovtsi and other unmitigated Turanians of the southern and eastern area, were absolutely overrun by the Mongolian Tatars, who ruled the country for two hundred years. During these terrible two hundred years, and the hardly less barbarous two hundred years immediately succeeding Mongol rule, Muscovite civilisation, what there had been of it, was tatarised. When revived by Peter the Great, it became European and cosmopolitan, with a decided German and rationalistic tinge. Politically and intellectually the fate of the Slavic Russians was very different. Though likewise suffering from Mongol raids, the Slavic Russians from 1320 to 1680 mainly obeyed Lithuano-Polish masters, who kept them comparatively free from the Turanian scourge, gave them an upper class, converted numbers to the Roman Church, and impregnated their first essays in literary culture with the spirit and the doctrines of the Papal religion. In fact, it was only in consequence of the Poles

attempting to force Catholicism upon the southernmost Russian Slavs, that, going over to the Muscovites, the Ukraine Cossacks paved the way for the subsequent conquest of Slavic Russia by Catherine II. Muscovy's gain in the first division of Poland, broadly speaking, was the annexation of Slavonic Russia by Finno-Tataric Russia, from which it had been estranged since the early days of the Rurikian conquest. Civilisatory despotism in those days forming the Muscovites into powerful armies, while the aristocratic republic of Poland fell a prey to anarchy, the ruin of the weaker, though certainly not the less ambitious state, was rapidly decided in an era of resolute dynastic aggrandisement.

So very heterogeneous are the origin, the history, and the culture of the Slavo-Russians and the Finno-Tataric Russians. Down to the time of Peter the Great, the Finno-Russians never dreamt of concealing the Turanic origin of their race. Only after Peter began to Europeanise his Muscovites, the notion that they had numerous relations living in Siberia and other Asiatic lands was officially tabooed. Official St. Petersburg in those unscientific days had not realised the fact that all Europeans are in reality Asiatics, and that the Finns, so far from being the latest, are, on the contrary, the earliest arrivals from the East in these western lands. So the idea of an Asiatic origin was very unnecessarily abhorred and put down with the

strong hand. Dr. Müller, one of the German scholars summoned to form an Academy of Science in brand-new St. Petersburg, in 1749 published a book entitled 'Origines Gentis et Nominis Russorum.' In this creditable performance the worthy man, gratefully called to this day the father of Russian historiography, plainly demonstrated the non-Slavonic extraction of the Muscovites. His arguments were repeated, apparently without any inkling that he might be giving offence, by M. Trediakovski, the perpetual Secretary of the new Academy. Upon hearing of these erudite asseverations, the Empress Elizabeth, the daughter and third successor of Peter the Great, was highly incensed, and immediately resolved upon a most striking description of criticism. Trediakovski was soundly flogged. In fact, he got a painful hundred for his unpalatable ethnography. Müller, being a foreigner in a land which wanted and honoured foreigners in those civilisatory days, had to be dealt with more leniently. The unlucky investigator was consigned to duress vile until he should consent to recant. As the man was too much of a scholar to like the idea of retracting the outcome of conscientious research, the Empress, by way of compromise, adroitly proposed that the indiscreet doctor should acknowledge the Muscovites to be the lineal descendants of the Roxolans, a people of doubtful nationality on the Sea of

Azoff, mentioned by classical writers as fighting Mithridates in days of yore. Müller, like everybody else, not having the least notion who and what the Roxolans really were, in the sorry plight in which he found himself did not object to regard them as Russians for the nonce. So by an admission which involved no absolute untruth he happily got out of jail at last. Twenty years after this forcible emendation of history, the Empress Catherine the Great stoutly confirmed her predecessor's verdict. Again it was an unfortunate German scholar whose literary zeal irritated Majesty. Professor Stritter, a member of the St. Petersburg Academy, in a book published in 1791, '*Populi Antiquæ Russiæ*,' boldly repeated the Finno-Tatar unpleasantness. Catherine having so long been a zealous and most generous protectress of scientific research, the naïve savant thought himself at liberty to proclaim what he regarded as an incontrovertible fact. But the Empress speedily disillusioned the confident antiquary. Though herself a German, the daughter of an Ascanian prince and Prussian general, the Czarina in this emergency promptly took the field for the Slavic theory against Teuton research. In a paper of instructions to the Russian Schoolbook Department, Catherine forthwith inserted the memorable words: 'Though the Russians and Slavs are not of the same origin, there is no ill-will between

them. It would be a scandal to admit Mr. Stritter's opinion that the Russians are Finns. The horror felt at the idea by us all is the best proof that we can have nothing in common with the Finns.* The better to inculcate her own view of the matter, Catherine subsequently issued a ukase commanding Muscovites to be Europeans. It was with reference to this extraordinary document that Mirabeau, in his '*Liberté de l'Escaut*,' indulged in the pert though ethnographically untenable remark, '*Les Russes ne sont Européens, qu'en vertu d'une définition déclaratoire de leur souveraine.*' Could he have foreseen the discoveries of modern philology, Mirabeau would not have ventured upon the cutting observation. Albeit partially Finns, the Russians to-day are known to be quite as much European as anybody else, considering that we have all been discovered to be Asiatics by descent. Truth will out. However much deprecated by their Government in those early and comparatively ignorant days, the mixed descent of the Muscovite Russians has been subsequently admitted by almost all the leading writers on Muscovite history, most of them Russians and Slavs. Schlözer, Schnitzler, Schafarik, Soloviev, Saveliev, Karamsin, Pagodine, Castren, all or nearly all of them distinguished members of the St. Petersburg Academy,

* Reprinted in the '*Journal de l'Instruction Publique de l'Empire Russe*,' Janvier, 1835.

are pretty much in accord upon this pregnant point. Only ten years ago, the famous Kostomarov published a learned essay entitled, 'Dve Russkiya Narodnosti,' Anglice, 'The Two Russian Nationalities,' in which some of the realities of the case were set forth with much historical and linguistic acumen. Indeed, whatever assertions to the contrary may have been advanced by politicians in the interest of Russian hegemony over the Slav, Russian scholars have never been remiss in acknowledging the conclusive character of the Turanic descent evidence handed down by history.

And why should they have acted otherwise? With so many strong points to give their national character worth and weight, the Muscovite race have no occasion to conceal the elements that have combined to produce them. If neither genuine nor unalloyed Slavs, Muscovites, with all their shortcomings, are yet clever, enterprising, enduring, courageous, and, as all the world is aware, have been eminently successful in very many respects. Nothing could be more erroneous than to regard the Muscovite or Finno-Tataric ingredient of the Russian Empire in its present Slavified aspect as inferior to the western or more purely Slavonic portion of the population. Though the two elements differ, either contains highly remarkable traits in its national character.

The Slavo-Russian—to-day called Little Russian,* because his country constitutes only one-fourth of the entire extent of European Russia—is a sensitive, excitable, and musical being, essentially sedentary, agricultural, and domestic. The Slavified Finno-Tatar, on the other hand, formerly called Muscovite, and to-day known as Great Russian, because his race extends over three-fourths of European Russia, is a clever, cold-blooded, calculating individual, who dislikes a settled life, varies agriculture with many an itinerant trade, and dearly loves to rove about as a pedlar or wandering mechanic, with the morrow's bread as uncertain as the road he treads in the pathless steppe. The Slavo-Russian marries for love; the Finno-Russian is married by his father, with the assistance of the mediating priest. The priest frequently acts as a paid agent, and the father and the priest, in estimating feminine worth, prefer bones that will stand labour to beauty that is only skin-deep. Slavo-Russian family life habitually displays tenderness and mutual consideration and care; in Finno-Russia the rustic wife and children are obliged to slave for the master of the house, and the sons remaining under the same roof with the father, even when married, the sons' wives too are subject

* The names of Great and Little Russia occur for the first time in the Treaty of Pereyaslav, concluded 1654 between the Grand-Duke Alexius of Muscovy and Bogdan Chmelnicki, to enact the incorporation of a portion of the Ukraine. See concluding note of this chapter.

to the dictation of the domestic patriarch. But while the Slavo-Russian is impressible and apt to waver and fret, the Finno-Russian is sturdy, confident, and adventurous; while the Slav sings, the Finno-Muscovite is either silent or indulges in caustical philosophy; while the one glories in innumerable ditties and ballads, the other, besides retaining the epical talent of the Finn, boasts the possession of some ten thousand proverbs, most of them shrewd and pointed, though many of them pessimistic and ill-natured. In the Finn the Slav's feeling is replaced by reasoning power; imagination by plain common-sense; amiable weakness by rough, stern strength. But for the distinctive characteristics of her Muscovite ingredient, Russia would never have attained the might she possesses.

Owing to their innate diversity, there is little love lost between the two Russian races. The Slav dubs the Muscovite 'Katsap,' a term implying something harsh, rough, and at the same time over-politic; the Muscovite, on his part, compliments the Slav as 'Kkokhol,' meaning to denounce him as irresolute, weak, and sly. The Slav every now and then complains that he has been forced by the Muscovites to relinquish the Uniate-Romanist creed, which he accepted under Polish rule, and re-embrace Oriental orthodoxy, from which he was alienated centuries ago. The Slav occasionally grumbles at being placed under Muscovite officials,

with no sympathy for his sensitive temper, and no pity for his grievances and griefs. Last, not least, the Slav deplors that his language is officially tabooed, and may not even be put into print.

This is a sore point. In the centuries marking the advent of culture to those parts, Slavic Russian, as a literary language, was stifled by Polish, the idiom of the then owners of the land; at present, when Slavic Russia is the property of Finno-Russia, the linguistic eclipse of the inhabitants continues, though it emanates from a different quarter. Finno-Russian being, by the dominating race, declared the official and literary tongue of the empire, Slavic Russian, or, to use modern phraseology, Little Russian, has only at times been allowed to be printed at all. In the liberal period which inaugurated the era of Alexander II., the sunshine of freedom was shed upon Kieff, as upon every other part of the Empire. Being licensed for print, the Little Russian language in those days rapidly produced a promising historical and religious literature. In that halcyon epoch of Russian liberalism, Little Russian literature witnessed a perfect revival, and attracted considerable attention at home and abroad. Not a few of its productions were actually translated, or recommended for translation, into Great Russian. Books of sweet and passionate poetry abounded. Popular songs and tales, the phantastic heirlooms of a wildly imaginative race,

were numerous collected. Historical, linguistic, and philological inquiries displayed a noble partiality for patriotic and erudite research. But the fates, which had so long obstructed its growth, speedily reasserted their unpropitious influence upon Little Russian literature. In the interest of national unity and Muscovite predominance, the independent literary resurrection of Little Russia was promptly put a stop to by the vigorous statesmen of St. Petersburg. The Slavic or Little Russians showing in their books and papers a decided inclination to assert a distinct nationality and to accentuate their dissimilarity to the Muscovites, the movement had to be stayed, and accordingly *was* stayed with a will. In 1859, in the first blush of the liberal era, M. Lavrovski had been actually permitted to discuss the independent nationality and speech of the Little Russians in the official reports of the Ministry of Public Instruction; in 1876, fifteen years later, Little or Slavonic Russian, the language from which the Great or Finno-Russian is mainly derived, was absolutely interdicted by Imperial decree. Since then Little or Slavonic Russian may not, as a rule, be printed. Indeed, it may hardly be read or spoken either, except by scholars or boors. Excluded from church, school, and court, it is equally prohibited in the theatre, the concert-room, and the editorial office. For private persons it is scarcely safe to

possess copies of the literature licensed in preceding reigns; while what little instruction is imparted in elementary schools is impaired by its delivery to peasant children in a semi-foreign vernacular. For an estranged tongue to the Little Russian the Great Russian idiom has gradually become. Though chiefly of Little Russian descent, the Great Russian speech, as we shall have no difficulty in ascertaining, is very considerably altered from its original type.

As yet, however, the official veto has not succeeded in silencing the Slavo-Russian tongue. Prohibited in Russia, the ancient idiom is still put into type by Little Russians inhabiting the eastern districts of the Austrian province of Galicia, commonly called Ruthenes or Russinians. What is even more remarkable, the Great Russians actually assist in Galicia what they suppress in Russia. Unable to put an end to Little Russian literature on Austrian soil, the Great Russians have made a virtue of necessity, and positively subsidise on Hapsburg territory what they exterminate on their own. Divers reasons account for this peculiar policy. By helping him to accentuate his separate nationality, the Russian peasant in Galicia is pitted against his Polish landlord. He is drawn, too, from the Romanist to the Orthodox Establishment, and he is taught the Muscovite tongue while he is seemingly treated to his own. The Russian speech employed in subsidised Galician prints is mostly an artificial product made

to order by the writers, very nearly approximating the Great Russian in words, and wholly so in feeling. Thus the idiom persecuted in Russia, where it opposes Great Russian, is fostered, and at the same time Muscovitised, by the Great Russians themselves in Austria, being there administered as an antidote against Polonism, Romanism, and Hapsburg rule.

The struggle between subsidised Russinism and the Austro-Polish authorities rages fiercely, and every now and then produces strange results. Only a few months ago the Russin subsidised press in Austria figured largely in a trial for high treason which came off at Lemberg, the capital of Galicia. The prisoners, mostly Austro-Russian journalists and priests, were charged with the design to betray their sovereign, and hand over Austrian-Russia to Russia. They were certainly proved to have received money from St. Petersburg; and as leading personages of the St. Petersburg capital were introduced by name in the official *acte d'accusation*, the scene was as sensational as it was painful. Though the punishments inflicted were lenient, the proceedings mark a period in the history of the race. By way of significant epilogue to the trial, the Pope has just deposed the Uniate bishop who countenanced these intrigues, and excommunicated a priest who fostered them. As might have been foreseen, the priest, immediately upon excommunication, embraced Orthodoxy, and

addressed a violent letter to the Pope, in which he claimed the Slav, body and soul, for the Czar. The chequered destinies of the Little Russian race are shown in the fact that the priest so signally punished for Muscovitism in 1882, in 1874 achieved notoriety by his loyal devotion to the Austrian Emperor, who protected his countrymen from the Poles. The Polish ascendancy which has since supervened in Galicia has lately reconciled the Little Russians of Austria to the Great Russians, however dissatisfied the Little Russians of Russia may, every now and then, be with their fate. Jammed in between Poles and Great Russians, the Little Russians have ever found it difficult to assert themselves, and are apt to appeal alternately from one neighbour to the other.*

A very different sort of Little Russian literature is produced at Geneva by refugees from Little Russian districts under Great Russian control. Successors of the Ukrainophil poets and politicians, who penned their glowing effusions under Nicholas I. and Alexander II., the gentlemen who have been lately publishing Russian books, pamphlets, and periodicals on the distant soil of Switzerland aim

* In 1770 the Little Russian Cossacks rebelled against the oppression of the Poles. When the Poles failed to suppress the revolt, the Great Russians, finding their own territory threatened, interfered, and by a ruse captured the insurgent chief Gonta, and 8000 men. These 8000 prisoners Field-Marshal Romanzoff handed over to the Poles, who distributed them for execution over their various provinces, when each town killed its quota by the most diverse and ingenious methods.

at the political and literary emancipation of their countrymen from Great Russian rule. The political independence of the race, before it became subject to Muscovites and Poles; their wars, struggles, and misfortunes in the last two centuries; their sufferings at the present period, and their hopes for the future, are the theme of this modern Helveto-Russian literature, as indeed they have been of nearly all Russian literature ever since the accession of Alexander II. To this old programme has been recently added the propagation of socialist theories, as a suitable means of rousing the peasant from his lethargy, and setting him against the Government, which, in a degree, protects the landlord.

The central figure of Russian literature is Schevtchenko,* a poet transported and knouted under Nicholas I. for the production of objectionable verse. His last poem, 'Bratskie Poslanie,' 'The Fraternal Mission,' purports to be a satire upon the notion of some Great Russians to liberate the Slav from German, Austrian, Hungarian, Rumanian, and Turkish rule, when the two Slavic races already under the Great Russian sceptre, the Little Russians and Poles, so frequently complain of the treatment they receive at their masters' hands. And thus, though cultivated Slavo-Russians must write

* Cf. K. E. Franzos, 'Die Kleinrussen und ihre Saenger.' *Allgem. Zeitung*, 1877, Nos. 164, 165. 'Aus Halb-Asien,' 'Vom Don zur Donau,' and other Russian sketches by the same author, are equally remarkable for brilliancy, depth, and erudition.

Muscovite, or Great Russian, in Russia, if they wish to write at all, the Russian movement is still continued and a special literature kept alive outside the Czarish territory.*

Curiously enough, modern Russian is, to a large extent, a foreign-letter paper literature. To facilitate their being smuggled across the Russian frontier, the Geneva volumes and flying-sheets are mostly printed on the thinnest of notepaper. To reduce their bulk, they are made to look wonderfully elegant.†

In my next lecture I shall follow up to-day's historical sketch by some linguistic details respecting the points of contact and difference between the Great Russian and Little Russian idioms.

* Only upon the conquest of Ukraine (1654), Muscovy took to styling herself Great Russia, and conferred the corresponding minor title upon the annexed race. Up to the annexation of Ukraine the only purely Slavic territory possessed by Muscovy was Novgorod and the adjoining north-eastern land, embodied, partially with Mongol help and connivance, in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The Poles never changed the original names of the two countries, but continue to call Russia Muscovy, and Russia Russ.

† The publication of an illustrated Little Russian periodical, 'Zarya,' was begun and discontinued last year in London. Notwithstanding its Russian bias, it was not admitted in Russia.

II.

THE TWO RUSSIAN LANGUAGES.

II.

IF *language* is a test of national character, is not *descent* a matter of indifference? Should not any people be regarded as civilised who speak a cultivated tongue? However primitive their ancestors may have been in times *past*, do not people advance at a leap, do they not reform their entire spiritual self, on adopting a new and more highly developed idiom? Is not a *nation* more particularly raised to the intellectual status of any language it may happen to acquire, no matter whether invented by itself or borrowed from others?

Then, as regards affinity: gauging relationship by an intellectual standard, ought we not to consider races more closely connected with their linguistic congeners than with their ethnographical kindred? If blood is thicker than water, is not the mind even more potent in forming connections than the blood?

No doubt these questions should be answered in the affirmative, provided a qualifying caution is added to the willing consent. There are two ways of adopting a foreign tongue. If it is taken over as it stands, with its phonology, etymology, and

grammar unimpaired, and the significations of its words unaltered, the recipient certainly allows his own ideas to be superseded by those of the new idiom. If, on the contrary, grammar is modified and the import of words changed in the transmission, then the metamorphosis is limited to the acquisition of a foreign shell, and the kernel is put in by the independent exertion, or at least with the active co-operation, of the linguistic proselyte. Of these two contingencies, the former occurs, when, going to a foreign country and staying in it a considerable time, an individual adopts its language to the entire replacement of his own. Then that part of a man's intellectual identity which is comprised in language may be absolutely effaced, and a new set of standard ideas imprinted upon his mind. Surrounded by people habitually employing words and meanings different from his own, a man's mind in such a case is gradually tinctured with novel hues, until, having no occasion to air his old phraseology, he ends by adopting the new one in the sense and in the meaning in which it is imposed by the overpowering influences surrounding him. The same absolute innovation is witnessed when a comparatively small number of foreigners subside in the great mass of another nationality. It is different, however, when an entire nation takes to a new tongue. Whether effected by spiritual or mere military subjugation, the change in this case

cannot be equally complete. Whenever large numbers, bearing the stamp of the same ethnical type, are allowed continued intercourse with each other, their physical and intellectual habits are necessarily preserved to some extent even under the pressure of overwhelming agencies from without. Among other results of their partially victorious resistance, the new words forced upon them in such a case are apt to undergo a change of form and meaning in accord with the peculiarities of the subsiding type. A good, and by its multiplicity perfectly conclusive, example of this linguistic diversification is supplied by the history of colonial Latin. Readily accommodating itself to the different individualities of the different races subjugated, Latin became Italian in Italy, French in France, Spanish in Spain, Portuguese in Portugal, Rumanian in Moldowallachia, and Romaunsch in the south-eastern valleys of Switzerland. Not only was the form of each Latin word specially modified in each of these several lands, but the meaning in most instances was characteristically altered with the form. As one example out of a thousand, take the Latin word 'perdere,' to ruin, to lose. Retaining its general aspect everywhere, it shows very different features nevertheless in each of the several countries to which it emigrated. Its Spanish representative 'perder' includes the signification of 'to bet;' its Rumanian form 'perdu' may mean to execute,

c

to hang and to spoil; while the French reflexive 'se perdre' denotes to disappear, and the Portuguese 'perderse' to capsize. The differentiation of transplanted thought is even greater in the case of abstract ideas. 'Vitium,' defect, deficiency, and guilt in Latin, in Portuguese becomes 'vicio,' which may mean no more than error; in Spanish 'vicio,' which comprises caprice, habit, and pullulation; in Italian 'vizio,' cupidity; in Provençal French, 'vici,' cunning; in Rumanian, 'vichiu,' vice in its most repulsive form. It is clear, the conception of guilt must have been very different in these different nationalities, to have prompted them to metamorphose the Latin 'vitium,' the one into error, the other into caprice, *bad* habit and *mere* habit, the third into cupidity, the fourth into cunning, the fifth into abominable vice.

As similar transformations of intrinsic sense may be observed in most words of what may be called transferred languages, it follows that the mere fact of Finns and Finno-Tatars accepting Slavonic speech does not necessarily imply their acceptance of Slavonic sentiment, but, on the contrary, argues a Turanic remodelling of the original Aryan tongue. Drawn on general linguistic grounds, this conclusion is confirmed by a comparison of the Slavo-Russian and Finno-Russian vocabularies.* The analysis of,

* To keep the original national diversity before the reader, I here employ the terms Finno-Russians and Slavo-Russians, in preference to the

comparatively speaking, a very few words will suffice to demonstrate the different turn given to Slavo-Russian significations upon the acceptance of their verbal representatives by the Finno-Russians. A limited number of examples, it is true, in itself proves not the frequency of the process; but if very ordinary ideas can be shown to have been perverted from their original Slavo-Russian type by their Finno-Russian inheritors, the inference will be justified that many others which cannot be quoted in a lecture must have shared the same fate.

Ideas of good and bad occupying so prominent a position in any nation's vocabulary, let us begin with their comparative dissection in Little Russian and Great Russian. 'Khoróshi,' probably an etymological development of the root 'kras,' meaning 'red,* coloured,'† in Little Russian mostly keeps to the sensuous sphere, and getting no farther than a very slight metaphor will carry it, signifies, 'pleasing, beautiful;' in Great Russian, on the other hand, the word at a leap passes from the signification 'pleasing' into that of 'good.' The Little Russians, as they distinguish between what is merely pleasing and what is really good, necessarily require a special

accepted names of Great Russians and Little Russians, which refer only to the extent of their respective geographical areas. In what follows, I revert to the usual, albeit inappropriate and purely quantitative, terminology.

* See Fourth Chapter.

† Cf., however, the different derivations suggested by the learned Professor Iagić, in 'Archiv für Slavische Philologie,' vi. 2, p. 282.

word in their language for 'good;' in Great Russian, where the two notions are frequently confounded, one word is apt to cover both. The special Little Russian term for 'good, intrinsically good,' is 'dóber;' and many things in Little Russian are accordingly denoted as 'dóber,' *i.e.*, intrinsically good, which in Great Russian are called 'khoróshi,' *i.e.*, good, because I think they are nice; good, because I like them. The word 'dóber, dóbri,' certainly exists in Great Russian likewise; but as its meaning is mostly usurped by the more arbitrary and capricious 'khoróshi,' 'dóber,' with its respectful recognition of what is really good, of what is good in itself, independently of one's liking it or not, is comparatively neglected. This propensity of the Great Russian to regard as good, not what is good, but what is liked, is emphatically confirmed by a well-known proverb declaring even one's likings to depend upon mere caprice. "Ne po khoróshu mil, a po milu khorósh"—"I do not like a thing because it is nice, but it is nice because I like it."

As a *per contra* proof of what has been stated, the term 'góji,' which in Little Russian means useful, serviceable, and *therefore* good, in Great Russian never gets beyond the meaning of serviceable, and remains for ever removed from the idea of intrinsic worth. The Little Russian dutifully acknowledges the goodness of whatever proves beneficial; the Great Russian, on the contrary, claims

the right to regard as good chiefly what he feels himself attracted by, whether serviceable or not. The better to realise the opposite *points de vue* adopted by the two, it may not be amiss to look at the same notion in its English and German garb. Like all the Germanic members of the Aryan family, the English and Germans, in fashioning their notions of goodness, discard the whimsical view taken by the Great or Finno-Russians, and endorse the more reasonable one adopted by the Slav. The English 'good,' the German 'gut,' being derived from the same root as the Slavo or Little Russian 'góji,' equally declare that to be good which is useful.

Again, the term 'blagi,' which in the literary language of Great Russia means good, in the popular tongue of Little Russia (and, to a certain extent, Great Russia too), for reasons which shall be explained in my next lecture, actually signifies *bad*. No more conclusive evidence could be adduced that Slavo-Russian and Great Russian ideas of goodness, though represented by the same words, are wholly distinct. Similarity of term, then, is anything but a guarantee for identity of concept.

There is quite as marked a difference in the conception of badness. 'Chudói,' which in Little Russian indicates nothing worse than a pauper, in Great Russian is degraded to the signification of

good for nothing, bad, wicked; a change of meaning which, I am afraid, reflects an opinion extending to other countries than Russia, that a poor man is more apt to be a bad one than a rich man. Again, 'dúrni' in Little Russian denotes a fellow mischievous from stupidity, intoxication, or madness; in Great Russian the word is generalised into signifying anything that is repulsive and ugly, and on these grounds, considered to be very bad. In other words, in Great Russian ugliness is viewed as a sign of badness, just as prettiness, in the case of 'khoróshi' in the same language, is confounded with goodness; whereas in Little Russian the ideas of external elegance and internal worth are, as a rule, religiously kept asunder. Furthermore, in Little Russian we encounter the word 'líchi,' mostly meaning 'wicked,' and occasionally admitting into its principal signification the qualifying *nuance* of 'insolent;,' in Great Russian the wicked motives of a man, called 'líchi,' are generally forgotten, while his insolence is raised to the pitch of boldness, resolve, and manly enterprise. 'Líchi,' at Kieff used as 'actively malicious,' at Moscow is connivingly ennobled into the idea of 'enterprising, though, peradventure, wicked.' At Kieff the *malice prepanse* is kept in view; at Moscow the daring of the deed is preferably accentuated.

To illustrate other significant changes in the meaning of adjectives, which are legion, a few

more instances may be cited. 'Mogútschi,' in Little or Slavo-Russian 'strong and rich,' in Great or Finno-Russian (in the amplified form of 'magúschtschestvenni') becomes 'strong, powerful, influential;' 'bagáti,' in Little Russian 'copious,' in Great Russian is used for 'rich;' 'osdóbni,' in Little Russian 'beautiful,' in Great Russian (in the parallel form of 'udóbni') means 'serviceable, convenient,' &c.

Passing on to nouns, and comparing a few representative words of this grammatical category, we obtain the like differentiated results. 'Brat,' originally 'brother,' in Little Russian is quite as often employed for 'friend;' in Great Russian it is pretty generally restricted to its primary genealogical signification. Conversely, 'padrújje, padrújka,' literally a 'female *friend*,' in Little Russian is the habitual name of a man's *wife*; in Great Russian it exclusively indicates a girl's girlish playmate. In this last example signification and etymology combine to win the palm for Great Russian; for as the word 'drugi'—the radical of the words 'padrújje, padrújka'—originally designated nothing more intimate than 'another person,' the derivative term 'padrújje, padrújka,' literally means no more than 'another person, and that a female.' Yet this is the word which in Little or Slavo-Russian suffices to denote 'a wife;' whereas the same term in Great or Finno-Russian is very

properly confined to the colder notion of 'companion, mate.' The same peculiar confusion of non-identity with friendship, and of friendship with wifeship, in Little Russian is carried to the extent of using the verbal derivatives of 'drug,' 'odrujítý, odrujítsya,' literally 'to get another,' in the intimate significations of 'to marry' and 'to be married.' In Great Russian, where, it appears, matrimonial ties are taken more *au sérieux*, a wife is never called a friend, and a friend is never styled a wife. A peculiar exception to the principle of this rule is the word 'priyátel,' as used by a widow to designate her defunct husband. 'Priyátel' in Great Russian originally means 'a well-wisher,' and is another very common designation for 'friend.' As long as a husband is alive, the distant term in this respectful tongue can never apply to him; but directly he is dead, his widow is apt to deprive him of his former more authoritative title, and to content herself with calling the departed one her 'friend.' To wind up, a Little Russian quite commonly neglects to discriminate between brother and male friend, between wife and female friend; a Great Russian does make the necessary distinctions, and as he has to use terminology received from the Little Russian, necessarily narrows its sense. It need hardly be said that, in consequence of their greater accuracy in distinguishing between the various grades of relationship, the Great Rus-

sians have been obliged to appropriate other special words for wife and friend, words rarely used in the same sense by the Little or Slavo-Russians.

Proceeding from matrimonial alliance to friendship, we find that the Little Russian has no proper word at all for friend except 'brat,' 'brother; '* the Great Russian has two: 'drug,' 'a constant associate and friend,' and 'priyátel,' 'a pleasant-spoken man, a well-wisher.' Altogether the distinctions drawn by Great Russians in this intellectual category are very nice. From the one word, 'drugí,' meaning 'another man,' which they received from the Little Russians, the Great Russians—to satisfy their desire for exactitude in defining relations between man and man—have evolved no less than five distinct terms: 'drugí,' 'another man;,' 'drúgi,' 'acquaintance;,' 'drug,' 'friend;,' 'drugíe,' 'others;,' 'drusyá,' 'friends.' Little Russian, in its turn, discriminates between 'drugí,' 'another man,' and 'drúgi,' a second man; while the plural 'drugí' is sometimes used in a loose and rather promiscuous sense for 'friends.'

This does not exhaust the differentiation of the one term 'drug.' Like 'padrújje,' cited above, 'drujína,' another derivative from 'drug,' in Little Russian means 'another party, and she a female, a wife.' In Great Russian, in marked contrast, the

* A distinction is occasionally, but not ordinarily, made between two derivatives of brat: 'bratkó,' 'brother,' and 'brátatsch,' 'friend.'

same word actually signifies 'a company of soldiers.' Impossible as it at first sight appears, this violent change of meaning is easily accounted for. The termination *ina* equally referring to individual females and to notions classified as feminine by Russian grammar, what designates a wife in the one case in the other applies to a collective term of feminine gender. Thus, from bestowing the wider signification of 'others' instead of 'one other party,' the Great Russian positively uses for an aggregate of armed men a word which the Little Russian reserves for the wife of his bosom. The discrepancy produced by either language giving the same notion a different turn could not well be greater.

It is similar with the nomenclature for 'enemy.' South Slavo-Russian knows only the word 'vrag,' a foe from innate evil disposition. Finno-Russian retains the ominous term, but sagaciously supplements it by 'nepriyátel,' an enemy from interest or other more transient motives; a man, in fact, who, under altered circumstances, may think fit to become a friend. At this point of our inquiry, it may, perhaps, be incidentally observed that Little or Slavo-Russian, in its modern condition, is divided into two principal dialects—the Southern or Ukraina dialect, and the Northern or White Russian speech. Though differing in details, the two dialects are mainly identical in all the more essen-

tial points of their dictionaries. I chiefly quote from the Northern or White Russian dialect, without entirely neglecting the Southern or Ukraina tongue.

Nouns similarly diversified in meaning abound. 'Sláva,' in Little Russian 'talk, rumour,' in the more ambitious and political Great Russian speech is exalted into 'glory, honour.' 'Duch,' in simple Little Russian 'vapour, smoke,' in the literary development of Great Russia is raised to 'spirit.' 'Slútschai,' in Little Russian 'an unlucky accident,' in Great Russian, which has a pessimist proclivity, is used to denote *every* kind of accident, all accidents being in that language regarded as pretty sure to turn out more or less unlucky. "Vso na svete slutchai," says a Great Russian proverb despondingly, — "Everything in this world is accident, and, as a rule, mischievous accident." 'Mazká,' from 'mazáty,' 'to smear,' in Little Russian is 'blood,' in Great Russian 'ointment.' 'Arúda,' in Little Russian 'a means, an instrument,' in Finno-Russian becomes 'arúdie,' 'a cannon,' and 'arújie,' 'a weapon, a musket.' Of the terms derived from 'arúda, 'arudátsch' in Little Russian is 'a man of means, a wealthy man,' whilst 'arujeínik,' accentuating a more mechanical sort of instrumentality, in Great Russian conveys the very different notion of 'an armourer, a gunsmith.' Again, 'tchási,' Little or Slavonic Russian for 'the times,' etymologically accords, whilst it differs from it in point

of signification, with the Finno-Russian 'tchasí,' 'a watch.' To 'pisánka,' in Little Russian 'a painting, a portrait,' in Great Russian corresponds 'pisánie,' meaning 'something *written*, a letter;' while contrariwise, 'list,' which in Little Russian is used for a letter, in Great Russian only expresses 'a leaf.' 'Maχ,' in Great Russian 'a blow,' in Little Russian signifies 'a moment.' It may justly excite surprise that in the case of the two last words, 'list' and 'maχ,' the primary meanings, 'leaf' and 'blow,' should be preserved in the derived and younger tongue, the Great or Finno-Russian, whereas metaphorical meanings, 'letter' and 'moment,' are recorded in the older and more original Little or Slavo-Russian. The seeming anomaly is explained by a circumstance which will be subsequently alluded to at greater length. Great or Finno-Russian is the descendant not only of the Little or Slavo-Russian, but also of the ancient Southern or Bulgaro-Slovenian Slavonic, the language in which the Gospel was communicated to the Northern pagans. Hence primary meanings are sometimes preserved at Moscow, though superseded by secondary ones at Kieff.

For completeness' sake, a few verbs may be mentioned, to exemplify the extension to this class of words of dialectical diversification of meaning. The names of the senses supply a good example. 'Tchuty,' in Little Russian 'to hear,' in Great

Russian occurs in the enlarged sense of 'to hear, to smell, to scent, to perceive, and to feel.' 'Slúkhaty, slukhátzy,' Little Russian for 'to listen, to obey, in Great Russian is represented by 'slúschaty,' 'to listen,' and 'slúischaty,' 'to hear, to smell, to scent, to understand, to comprehend.' 'Pa ruski slúischaty,' literally 'to hear in the Russian tongue,' in Great Russian means 'to hear Russian and comprehend it,' *i.e.*, to be conversant with the Russian idiom. Again, 'divítysya,' in Little Russian 'to see,' in Great Russian, very much at variance with the classical injunction of *nīl admirari*, adopts the more spiritual sense of 'to see and admire, to admire.' 'Golósíty,' in Little Russian 'to sob, to groan, to sing the funeral plaint,' and 'to prophecy,' in Great Russian merely denotes 'to talk aloud.' The same root 'glos, glas,' in Little Russian appropriated for expressing the utterance of the human voice, in Great Russian, with its habitual confusion of the senses, applies to the action of the visual organs as well. 'Spravítý,' in Little Russian 'to carry out,' in Great Russian is retained in its primary sense of 'to straighten.' 'Sverschítý,' in Little Russian 'to accomplish,' in Great Russian is diverted into the different meaning of 'to decide.' 'Vóliti,' in Little Russian to *obtain* by earnest solicitation, in its Great Russian meaning goes no further than to solicit, &c.

Such is the diversity of the Slavo-Russian and

Finno-Russian idioms in the case of words absolutely transferred from one language to the other. Though the word is preserved, in all these and other *innumerable* instances a new shade is introduced into the Little or Slavo-Russian meaning by the Great or Finno-Russian mind. The shell is the same; the kernel varies. The sound is taken over; the signification has been altered.

An analogous, and even more copious, process is observed in the case of derivations, especially in the derivation of nouns. As most objects equally lend themselves to be designated by different qualities out of the many they have, the two languages frequently choose to refer the names of their nouns to different radicals. A cloud in Great Russian is called 'óblako,' from 'oblekáty,' to cover; in Little Russian it goes by the name of 'χmara,' from 'χmúrity,' to darken. Blood, in Great Russian called 'krov,' from a root designating moisture, in Little Russian is known as 'mazká,' from 'mazáty,' to smear. Marriage, which in Great Russian is described as 'svádba,' meaning probably abduction, in Little Russian rejoices in the more modern appellation of 'véssilya,' gladness, frolic. Quantities of such-like examples might be adduced at a moment's notice. More conclusively than anything else these prove the independent use made by the Finno-Russians of the roots and stems handed over to them by the Slav.

Other causes have contributed to enhance the contrast. Change of meaning so often accompanying preservation of outward form, is even more frequent when the form is altered likewise. Few languages more readily admit of such alteration than the Russian. The extraordinary number of prepositions alternately prefixed to roots; the copious array of terminations appended in forming derivatives; the facility of creating ever-new compounds, and applying significant vowel-changes to boot, allow of roots being used in a hundred different ways. Each prefix, each affix, each vowel-change imparts a new shade of meaning; each compound creates a new term. Now the Slavo-Russian and Finno-Russian languages by no means always agree in selecting the same prefixes and affixes for their roots. On the contrary, they very often couple their roots with different prefixes, thereby strengthening in different ways the different significations given to the roots; or else they differ in this, that the one adds a prefix where the other prefers the naked root, declining to develop the idea contained in the radical. As an instance, take the root 'kon,' meaning 'to end, to terminate.' Little or Slavo-Russian knows the simplest application of the root, the verb 'konáty,' only in an intransitive aspect, meaning 'to die.' Great or Finno-Russian, on the contrary, uses this very verb in a most vehement transitive signification, meaning 'to drive a man to

the end,' *i.e.*, to the end of his wits, to make him go to extremes. Again, Little Russian compounds the simple form 'konáty' with the preposition *vi*, meaning 'out,' thus creating a verb, 'víkonaty,' 'to carry out, to accomplish.' Great Russian, on the other hand, prefixes to the same root the preposition *o*, meaning, among a great many other things, 'through' in a finishing sense, thus producing the verb 'okontcháty,' with the signification of 'to finish.' To quote a few other words, the root 'myenáty' in both languages means to change; but whilst in Great Russian it is associated with the preposition *ob*, meaning 'about,' and produces 'obmyenáty,' meaning 'to exchange, to mistake,' in Little Russian it is connected with the preposition *za*, meaning 'instead,' and brings forth the verb 'zamináti,' meaning 'to make up for.' Or the verb 'pravdíty,' 'to act straightly,' when coupled with the preposition *s*, in Little Russian engenders 'spravdíti,' 'to amend,' which does not exist at all in the affiliated tongue. Similarly, the verb 'vólity,' in Great Russian 'to will, to solicit,' in Little Russian 'to obtain by solicitation,' in the latter language, joined with the preposition *v*, meaning 'out,' creates the verb 'vvolíti,' 'to fulfil somebody else's wish,' for which no analogous term is found in the related tongue. And so on to the end of the chapter. I omit to extend these examples to the variations produced by different

terminations, significant vowel-changes, and other similar means. They are equally abundant.

Two other sources of discrepancy deserve to be mentioned. Of many Slavo-Russian roots not a trace is found in Finno-Russian; of not a few Finno-Russian words no vestige can be detected in Slavo-Russian. Slavo-Russian roots lost in Finno-Russian speech were either not presented for acceptance, or else rejected by the recipient race, being altogether at variance with their own original ideas of men and things. The Finno-Russian terms missing in Slavo-Russian are either derived from Southern or Bulgaro-Sloveno-Slavonic, or else are scattered remnants of Finnish or Tatar origin. Finno-Russian, as I observed above, is not exclusively the descendant of Slavo-Russian, but acknowledges a considerable influence of the ancient South Slavonic, or Bulgaro-Sloveno-Slavonic tongue, the ecclesiastical language of the Orthodox Church, formerly spoken by the Slavs between the Euxine and the Adriatic. The first of their race who received Christianity from the neighbouring Greeks, Bulgaro-Slovenian is the idiom in which the new religion was subsequently transmitted farther north. In it the Gospel was preached to Slavo-Russians as well as to Finno-Russians; but while it had little influence upon the cognate tongue of the Slavs, the southern idiom powerfully affected the speech of the Finn, then in the first stage of incipient Slavification.

D

To the Kieff Slav, Bulgarian was a mere variety of his own vernacular, too easily understood and altogether too familiar to derive much additional interest from the religious teaching it conveyed; to the Finn it came clothed with the double dignity of a foreign, more civilised tongue, and of the medium for the inculcation of lofty doctrine and creed. Hence, Finno-Russian retains many more visible traces of the ecclesiastical dialect than the Slavo-Russian, or, to call it from its ancient capitals, the Kieff-Novgorod speech.

As the aggregate result of the various agencies enumerated, we have the existing discrepancy between the Little or Slavo-Russian, and the Great or Finno-Russian idioms. Where such very large sections of the dictionary are entirely distinct; where others, though similar, abound in words used in different senses by either tongue, it is impossible to subordinate the one language to the other as a mere dialect. The few comparisons I have instituted are, I believe, the first attempt ever made at likening the notions of the two kindred idioms. However, as they might be easily augmented by multitudes of similar examples, the instances given are enough to warrant the inference that Little or Slavo-Russian and Great or Finno-Russian are neither identical, nor the one a subordinate dialect of the other, but distinct and independent, though closely related tongues. Only after the two dic-

tionaries shall have been made the subject of a thorough comparative analysis will it be possible to tell to what extent the Finns have been Slavified, or how far they may be said to assert their ancient national character under the cloak of a foreign idiom. A long time will have to elapse before any such complete estimate can be formed. Comparative lexicology is in its infancy in all languages, let alone Russian.

If there are two Russian languages, the number of Russian nationalities extant is far in excess of two. Not to speak of the numerous Caucasian and Asiatic races annexed by the Czars, hosts of Germans, Poles, Lithuanians, Rumanians, &c., have been absorbed in course of time by the mighty Northern Empire. Some of these engulfed nationalities retain their speech; others, on becoming Russianised, imprinted visible vestiges of their previous tongues and types upon the idiom adopted by them.

There is still one other nationality in Russia more important than any of those mentioned. This highly remarkable species of mankind consists of the upper classes of the realm. A mixture of all the various races assembled under the Czarish sceptre, the upper classes form one of the most intelligent, most courageous and enterprising types of humanity ever reared on the face of the earth. In them Finnish common sense mingles with Polish

courage ; Armenian astuteness blends with German deliberate and methodic thought ; while to the patient endurance of the Tatar is added the quick versatility of the Slav. If Russia has accomplished so much in diplomacy and war, she is quite as much indebted for her success to the extraordinary abilities of the mixed race at her head, as to the sturdiness, the submissiveness, and the enduring capacities of her docile millions. In this upper section of Russian society, names are no clue to descent. Owing to long-continued intermarriage between its different ingredients, a Finno-Slavic name may be borne by a man of German extraction, or an Armenian title by one most of whose ancestors were Poles. But whatever their patronymic, whatever their origin and descent, what distinguishes them all alike is the uncommon amount of talent prevailing in the caste. It is one of the most telling facts in the ethnographical and political configuration of Europe, that while the Russian lower orders are further removed from culture than those of any other European land, the Russian upper classes are equal, if not superior, in intelligence, to their peers in most other countries. Thanks to this extraordinary combination of opposite advantages, Russia has attained the enormous power she proudly calls her own.

Neither have the potent upper ten thousand left the national idiom without some very visible traces

of their social influence. The literary language and style of Russia has been moulded by the cultured few, chiefly upon the pattern of German and French, the tongues gradually adopted by Russian society since the age of Peter the Great and prevalent down to the Crimean war. The more rapidly to civilise his country, Peter, it is well known, favoured the spread of German as a vehicle of official culture. As to French, this, in its brilliant eighteenth century, found its way aided and unaided to Muscovy, as everywhere else. Things remained in this condition until toward the latter end of Nicholas' reign. Intent upon fanning the pride of race upon the eve of a Panslavonic war, Nicholas discountenanced the foreign idioms (which, moreover, had acquitted themselves of their civilising task in the meantime) and reverted to Russ. But the restoration of the old linguistic régime by the Iron Emperor had no power to obliterate the results of the preceding period. Though he certainly made Slavic again the habitual language of the upper classes, Nicholas neither attempted the extermination of the numberless Russian words framed upon German and French patterns in the preceding cosmopolitan epoch, nor did he propose a patriotic return from the clear and elegant forms of Gallic syntax then adopted to the loose and confused structure of the old Muscovite sentence. The imperative example of the Court easily replaced the use of foreign tongues by the

national idiom ; but the development Russian had derived from copying foreign speech was wisely preserved as a lasting gain and abiding improvement of the vernacular. Owing to this exotic and partially imitative origin of innumerable Russian words, phrases, and grammatical combinations, the language of culture in its higher uses in no European country differs in so many essential points from the popular speech as in Russia. Nothing can be richer than the Russian dictionary, if not in roots, at least in compounds and derivatives ; nothing nicer than the shades root-meanings acquire by etymological modifications ; but with unmitigated simplicity the villager still uses one and the same word in a promiscuous sense where a host of differentiated terms is habitually employed by the civilised portion of society. Again, nothing can be more analytical, more strictly logical, and concise than the build of a Russian literary sentence, while incompleteness, allusiveness, and vague metaphorical idiomatism still constitute a leading feature of the peasant's brogue. As the necessary consequence of it all, it is easy enough to read a Russian book on metaphysics, but it is hard to exactly comprehend a Muscovite ploughman discussing any commonplace incident in his indefinite lingo.

Slavonic philology is not altogether without English ramifications. Reverting at a leap from

Russia to Great Britain, we find remnants of Slavonic speech lingering in localities not very far distant from this ancient seat of learning. These relics of a remote linguistic past, it is true, consist only in a few geographical names: Wilton, Wiltshire, Wily. According to early tradition, handed down in Bede's History and vaguely alluded to by Venantius Fortunatus and other chroniclers, the Viltzi, a Slavonic tribe in ancient Pomerania and Brandenburg—the name of Vilt, Wind, Wend formerly applied to many western Slavs—sent colonies from the mouth of the Oder to Holland and England in the fourth and fifth centuries. In England these emigrants from the neighbourhood of Berlin probably founded the town of Wilton; as regards Holland, it seems certain that they occupied Utrecht, the *Uterius Trajectum* of the Romans, then called Wiltaburg. Surviving the vicissitudes of many centuries, a small handful of this race still exist in the region whence their ancestors are related to have set out on their journey to Great Britain fourteen hundred years ago. In the Spree-wald, a sequestered locality near Berlin, whither they retreated eight hundred years since before the advance of the colonising German, the Wends to this day are a living reality. To this day this interesting remnant of Brandenburg Slavs retain the national name, together with the knowledge of

their ancient tongue, which they use in familiar converse along with German. The Brandenburg Wends are a well-to-do and most respectable tribe. Living in a sort of rustic Venice formed by numberless channels of the river Spree, their water-bound settlements remind the startled visitor of the lak dwellings of primitive Europe, and highly deserve inspection by the ethnographer, the painter, and the excursionist. A few months ago, as I was navigating with a Cantabrigian fellow-traveller the endless watercourses of this aquatic region, my companion expressed no little surprise that so very peculiar a district should be unknown to the sight-seers of Europe. Whether threading its way through primeval forest, steeped in swamp and lake, or passing along the insulated settlements of a happy and amiable race, the vistas opened up by the gliding boat were invariably curious and picturesque. The inhabitants of these secluded recesses, quick, wiry, and industrious, are an altogether superior sort of rustics, and very well able to take care of themselves in the social struggle of these stirring times. Their women, famous for attachment to children, are frequently engaged as a kind of ornamental nurses by wealthy Berliners, and in their gorgeous national attire, all red, green, and white, attract the attention of foreigners in the streets of the German capital. Notwith-

standing the care taken in school and church to preserve their time-honoured nationality,* it is disappearing fast. In Wiltshire, in obedience to the law of linguistic absorption, it has succumbed long ago.

* Wends also survive in the adjoining district of Upper Lusatia, kingdom of Saxony.

III.

*THE RUSSIAN LINGUISTIC CONCEPTION
OF 'GENTLEMAN' AND 'NOBLEMAN.'*

III.

WORDS express what men agree to put into them ; and as there is hardly a notion which cannot be viewed in more ways than one, there is hardly a word which does not differ in signification from its nearest equivalents in other languages. From the most complicated mental operations down to ordinary sensuous objects, things admit of being conceived differently, and in consequence are given names carrying different meanings in the various languages of the world.

Let us take an instance or two. The Latin 'gladius,' being a short sword of peculiar shape, is inaccurately rendered by 'sword,' which may or may not be what the Roman term indicates. The Latin 'cantus,' signifying an articulated clangour, in preference to anything else, is too much honoured in the translation by 'song,' which plainly refers to melody. The Latin 'amicus,' implying a disposition to aid, abet, and confer benefits, cannot be regarded as an exact equivalent of the English 'friend,' a word which lays stress upon affection rather than help. Passing on to more abstract notions, the Roman 'virtus' is properly 'effi-

ciency,' not 'virtue;' the Roman 'vis' more ordinarily imports energy and force than strength; while the Roman 'ingenium' should be mostly understood as expressing capacity and disposition, in preference to intellect and genius.

Differences increase in the case of adjectives and verbs. Expressing conditions of the nouns to which they apply, adjectives and verbs are apt to vary in signification according to the nature of the subjects they happen to refer to. The wider their signification, the less likely it is that their compass should be exactly the same in different tongues. In the Latin 'magnus' we encounter the three meanings of 'great,' 'long,' and 'copious,' according to the nouns with which it is coupled. The Greek quality of 'καλός,' like the English 'handsome,' may be fittingly ascribed to persons that have nothing personally attractive about them; whilst the English 'nice,' a peculiarly generous vocable, lends itself to be predicated of a good many people who would not be awarded similar praise by its Latin prototype 'nitidus.' Again, in Latin we discover the verb 'transmittere' to embrace the several meanings of 'transmit, transfer, cede, intrust, dedicate, perforate, pass, pass by, throw across, live through, live down,' all of which, in English, have to be rendered singly by their respective equivalents. Greek has its 'λογίζεσθαι' in the cumulated sense of 'to cypher,

calculate, sum up, add, attribute, meditate, consider, judge, and infer.' The German 'scheinen' unites the notions of 'to shine,' and 'to seem;' the Russian 'slagaty' combines the ideas of 'to add' and to 'wrap up;' and the Egyptian 'sem, setem,' is tantamount to both 'hear' and 'listen.' Comparing the foreign words enumerated with their nearest English equivalents, we have no difficulty in noticing the inherent discrepancy of meaning which separates original and translation. In some cases, Latin cannot be accurately rendered at all, there being no word found in English with exactly the same conceptual ingredients. In other instances, where the same ingredients are forthcoming in both languages, they occur in different proportions, and accordingly impart different hues to their representative compound in either. In both cases, the notions compared have been differently viewed by the men who formed the two languages.

The above remarks hold good when analysis is coupled with synonymy. Confronting a word with its closest approximate in another tongue, we are apt to suppose that what cannot be mutually rendered by the two limbs of the comparison, cannot be expressed at all by the language in which the deficiency happens to occur. When, however, investigation is extended to the synonyms of the terms contrasted, we are frequently gratified to detect the missing shade in some cognate vocable,

mixed up with tints other than those associated to it in the language in which it was first noticed. Comparing, *e.g.*, the English and Russian ideas of zeal, there is no Russian adjective corresponding to 'strenuous.' The ardour in 'strenuous,' it is true, is appropriately expressed by 'révnosti,' anglice 'zealous;' but the boldness, activity, and enterprise inherent in the British vocable as well, and inseparable from the ardour which forms its primary element, cannot apparently be conveyed by any one Russian adjective bearing upon the notion. In searching, however, a little farther afield, we are agreeably surprised to come upon the noun 'maladyétz,' meaning a young man possessing the very combination of qualities for which the English idea of strenuousness is conspicuous. Hence it is clear that to form an idea of any concept in any language, it is indispensable to extend observations over groups of words, and eliminate the entire notion from the various individual exponents over which it is scattered.

By way of illustrating this method by a Slavic specimen, let us dissect the Russian terminology for some socially and morally interesting notions,—gentleman, gentlemanly, nobleman, and noble. Of the large number of words coming under this category, a few principal ones admit of being presented in a brief sketch.

Russian does not possess any single term com-

binning the three constituent qualities of a gentleman: good breeding, liberal education, and high honour. Each of these qualities is separately ascribed by Russian linguistic usage. Beginning with the element of honour, there are four principal terms set apart for its expression as a distinctive personal trait. 'Nadéjni tchelovék' designates a trustworthy man; 'dobrosavéstni tchelovék,' a conscientious man; 'tchéstni tchelovék,' an honest honourable, and honoured man; and 'dóblestvennik,' a moral hero. Of these four epithets, two refer each to one particular feature of social morality only, while the two remaining ones include every commendable quality comprised in the notion of honour. 'Nadéjni tchelovék,' a trustworthy man, and 'dobrosavéstni tchelovék,' a conscientious man, are one-sided appellations; 'tchéstni tchelovék,' a man of marked honesty and honour, and 'dóblestvennik,' moral hero, on the contrary, indicate an honourable man all round. There is a notable distinction made between these four several terms as regards frequency of application. Upon acquainting ourselves a little more closely with the position they occupy in the language, we find the one-sided terms 'nadéjni' and 'dobrosavéstni tchelovék,' respectively trustworthy and conscientious man, to be in constant use; while 'tchéstni tchelovék,' a man of marked honesty and honour, and 'dóblestvennik,' moral hero, are much more rarely heard.

E

It seems natural expressly to extol trustworthiness and conscientiousness, when found ; while the more comprehensive quality of honour is not so often mentioned, unless, indeed, the possession of positive virtue is intended to be specially emphasised. As to 'dóblestvennik,' moral hero, it stands altogether too high for everyday parlance. Accordingly, no term is appropriated to the colloquial ascription of the ordinary, commonplace, and, so to say, matter of course amount of personal honour in all its various aspects at once. There is not only no one word as comprehensive as the English vocable 'gentleman' in its triple reference to character, culture, and education ; but among the several familiar words relating to character alone, there is not one conveying *all* that is conveyed respecting this *one* quality by the wider English term.

On the other hand, there are several much-used phrases indicative of education. 'Abrásóvanni,' cultivated, and 'prosveschtschénni,' enlightened, are words constantly recurring in Russian conversation. Everybody in the upper classes claims these qualities as his own, and delights in having them attributed to himself. A man is 'abrasóvanni,' cultivated, when he knows enough of the world to look upon things in the approved European way, and to converse upon them in customary French phraseology ; he is 'prosveschtschénni,' on the other hand, enlightened, civilised, when he has

given up the oppressive superstitions of ancient Muscovy, and has become both intelligent and humane. Significantly enough, this word 'prosveschtschénni,' though primarily referring to intellectual improvement alone, has a decided tendency to include moral amelioration. To be 'prosveschtschénni,' now-a-days, is not only to be well-instructed, but also to recognise the notions of duty, veracity, and philanthropy. Thus it happens that the demands of honour, which, as a mere matter of honour, are not embodied in any commonplace epithet, come to be incorporated in a familiar byname, whose original import refers to civilisation.

Thirdly, as to the good-breeding, which forms an indispensable ingredient in a gentleman's character, its ordinary denominations in Russian are derived from culture possessed, respect paid, or friendliness shown. 'Utschlívi' means well-taught, and in consequence polite; 'véjlivi' signifies well-informed, and in consequence well-mannered; 'utschtívi,' respectful, and consequently considerate. The other more demonstrative group embraces 'priyátni,' pleasant; 'lubésni,' amiable; and 'míli,' nice, friendly, and expansive. From which we may safely infer that good manners are supposed to arise chiefly from culture or amiability, from adopted Europeanism, or the innate blandness of the Russian heart.

On summarising the result of this analysis, we find ordinary social morality, as well as culture and manners, represented as often springing from civilisation alone—a curious and yet, considering the circumstances, a very intelligible way of looking upon men and things. Again, such manifestations of ordinary social morality as do not arise from civilisation alone are most frequently represented as trustworthiness, reliability, and absence of deceit. In fact, absence of deceit is found to be the popular interpretation of honour. On the other hand, a word is not wanting which declares high social morality to have its source in a keen sense of personal honour; whereas mere politeness, besides frequently proceeding from culture, is described as the outcome of the supple complaisance and obsequiousness as natural to the Russian character as the extreme reverse. Handled in this wise, the dissection of a few words enables us to extract from the Russian national mind important avowals respecting the origin and nature of some of its most remarkable notions and qualities. From the linguistic evidence elicited it will be seen that the French story of a Russian asking in blank astonishment, ‘*Tschto eto honor?*’ (‘In the name of goodness, what is honour?’) is no more than a disrespectful gibe, instinct with the spirit of international derision, so very common in all lands and times. Had it no object besides helping nations to

form a more correct and equitable estimate of each other, comparative lexicography would require to be created.

If there is no *commonplace* name indicating the possession of personal honour, except as regards that particular point of honour known as trustworthiness, there are several familiar phrases denoting individuals to whom honour is habitually rendered. The first word we come across in this category is 'patchótni.' 'Patchótni secretar,' honorary secretary, exactly corresponds with the English translation, and serves to determine the meaning of the vocable. But 'patchótni grashdanín,' an honorary citizen, is a wealthy merchant upon whom the title has been specially conferred by a gracious Czar. At the top of the peculiar climax there stands 'patchótni tchelovék,' literally an honorary man, *i.e.*, an individual revered for his prominent position by equals and inferiors, and dubbed honorary in consequence by the voice of the people. The better to realise the singular meaning of this term 'patchótni,' honorary, we shall compare it with 'patchténni,' honoured, which attributes as a mere temporary possession what 'patchótni,' honorary, confers as a lasting qualification and as a sort of inherent dignity. To be honoured on one occasion or on several occasions is to be 'patchténni;' to be habitually honoured is to become an altogether 'honorary person,' 'patchótni tchelovék.'

A Russian, therefore, may not only be honorary as a secretary or as a member of *a* society, but honorary even as a member of *society* at large.

Passing on to neighbouring ground, we find a remarkable distinction drawn between the several equivalents for the English adjective 'noble.' The adjectives derived from the old and popular words for nobleman have nothing whatever to do with noble in a moral sense. 'Bárin,' 'boyárin' (bar), anglice boyard, originally denoted the master of the slave, that is, in accordance with ancient local institutions, the nobleman; but the adjective derived from this noun, 'bárski,' simply means that which belongs to the master, without any reference to nobility or any other moral or immoral qualities inherent in that individual. The only metaphorical touch added to this adjective refers to imperiousness and the strenuous exercise of masterdom; 'bárski' means not only that which appertains to the master, but also masterful. It is the same with 'dvoryanín,' a more modern word for nobleman. 'Dvoryanín' literally signifies courtier, a man attached to the Czar's cabinet or household, who accordingly ranks as a nobleman.* The adjective 'dvoryánski,' deduced from this noun, has nothing of personal nobility in it; like 'bárski,' it signifies almost exclusively that which is the

* There is another etymology, referring the word to the possession of large property.

property of the exalted person mentioned. Not noble feelings, but the nobleman's house, wife, and chattels are usually called bárski or dvoryánski. In signal contradistinction to these two old and historical appellations of the nobility, a novel word, frequently applied since modern civilisation extended to Russia, includes both meanings in its more comprehensive compass, noble in position and noble in point of character. 'Blagoródni,' literally well-born, indicates a man of noble station, and noble sentiments as well. By the time this aristocratic term came into use, the moral development of the country had sufficiently advanced to admit of rank being identified with virtue. There is a gratifying chapter of Russian history contained in the rise of this word; there is a remarkable trait of modern Muscovy indicated in the limited use made of the term. The use of this novel and more commendatory appellation 'blagoródni' is very much confined to the upper classes. Originally an official title devised by Government, in imitation of the German Wohlgeboren, 'blagorodni,' well-born, was first enforced as the proper style and phrase in addressing persons included in the six last classes of the civil and military hierarchy. In the Europeanising reigns of Peter the Great and his immediate successors, the decree went forth that official personages, from the captain and Government secretary down to the ensign and

Government clerk, should be vouchsafed the style and title of this 'blagorodni,' well-born; just as colonels, majors, and Government councillors were dubbed 'visokoblagorodni,' high well-born; State councillors, 'visokorodni,' high-born; generals, 'prevoskhoditelstvo,' excellency; full generals, 'visokoprevoskhoditelstvo,' high excellency, and so forth, to the top of the ladder. Superior Government employment until very lately conferring nobleman's rank, the lowest class title, applying to all noblemen alike, came to be used for all sections of the nobility, and eventually attracted the higher meaning of noble in feeling and mind. Hence 'blagorodni' is essentially an official and a bookish term, invented by the literate, or what is about the same, the literary portion of society, whose language differs more markedly from that of the lower orders in Russia than anywhere else in Europe. Hence, too, the amalgamation of moral and social import in the term is likewise more or less restricted to the classes who framed the word after a foreign pattern, and lodged in it some of the double meaning which its prototype had abroad.

Besides the historical evidence alleged, there is curious linguistic proof that the lower orders can have had nothing to do with the devising and the determining of this interesting vocable. 'Blagorodni,' well-born, is a compound made up of 'blági,' good, well, and 'rodni,' born. Strange as it may

appear, the first word in this compound, the word 'blagi,' which I have just translated by 'good,' 'well,' might with almost equal correctness have been rendered 'bad,' 'evil.' It so happens that this word 'blagi' is one of the comparatively few left in Russian illustrating the primeval linguistic phenomenon of inversion of meaning. On this startling process a few explanatory observations require to be incidentally offered at this place. In my *Egyptian Researches** I have shown absolute change of signification to abound in what probably is the most ancient preserved form of human speech, the Hieroglyphic. In several thousand examples I have proved the extraordinary fact and traced its origin to the demonstrable practice of primitive humanity of defining notions by contrasting them with opposites.† If in Egyptian we find it to be quite the practice to put two prepositions of opposite meanings together, in order the more clearly to bring out the signification inherent in *one* of them, the absolute combination of two meanings in one vocable is legitimately explained by analogous reasoning.‡ The more easily to conceive their primary notions, our primitive ancestors very largely had recourse to contrast. To readily under-

* Koptische Untersuchungen, Berlin, 1875.

† See Chapter V.

‡ Cf. the author's 'Origin of Language,' in 'Linguistic Essays,' London, 1882. Prof. Bain, in his 'Logic,' i. 54, theoretically discovers the necessity of the process, now confirmed by philological evidence. No happier co-operation of science and science could be imagined.

stand the import of strength, they, on forming the idea, separated it from weakness; to facilitate the comprehension of darkness, it was mentally pitted against light; to realise the notion of 'great,' it used to be contrasted with 'little.' Once invented and transmitted for many successive centuries, these and all other ordinary notions are now-a-days glibly apprehended, without any, or at least any conscious, repetition of the original contrasting process. Directly, however, some entirely novel idea is submitted for acceptance, we are instinctively driven even now, to imitate the practice of our early ancestors and facilitate comprehension by comparison. Whether concrete or abstract, knowledge and its acquisition have ever a tendency to confront. Hearing a new variety of rose mentioned, we are apt to desire our informant to describe the qualities of the unknown flower by likening them to the similar yet different ones of some familiar species. Still more surely, whenever introduced to a new idea in the less popular domain of mathematics, philosophy, or word-signification in a foreign tongue, shall we be driven to measure the strange concept by a known opposite, the more readily to realise its import. The definition of a circle is easiest taken in by placing it side by side with the characteristic attributes of another mathematical figure not a circle. Roman ideas of morality and immorality being very different from our own, are

best understood through gauging them by ours ; and if the peculiar compound of enlightenment and morality which constitutes the distinctive feature of 'prosveschtschénni,' is ever to be fully appreciated by non-Russians, they will have to place it side by side with words of their own language, related yet dissimilar in meaning. The more delicate the linguistic distinction drawn, the more nearly related are the two members of the comparison ; the simpler the concept to be grasped, the more complete will the explanatory antithesis require to be made. For a nineteenth-century individual to ascertain the Russian meaning of 'khoróshi,' it is only necessary to discriminate between what is good and what is pleasing ; whilst, when our primitive ancestors taxed their reasoning powers to discern the elementary notion of darkness, the exigencies of the desperate situation in which they found themselves compelled the thick-skulled savages to call in the notion of light as *secundum comparationis*. Egyptian words including the two elements of the comparison instituted by prehistoric thinkers, their instructive conservatism luckily reveals the intellectual effort by which the first and most indispensable notions had to be originally achieved. Without the clear and cumulative evidence of the Egyptian language, this unexpected fact in the history of human reason would not, probably, have been discovered ; with the aid of Egyptian the

process is manifest, and the host of preserved vestiges in other tongues plainly discernible.

The proved diversity of meaning in aboriginal speech apparently compels the conclusion that our antediluvian friends must have experienced some very considerable difficulty in rendering themselves mutually intelligible: that the mental exertion, which enabled them to grasp a thought, by its very laboriousness impeded intercourse. But however hard their case may have been, it was scarcely quite as bad as it is apt to appear to people in the possession of perfect speech. They did not need any very distinct and copious phraseology in those early days. The primitive circumstances in which the speakers were placed; the rapidly realised nature of the situations in which they used to hold converse; and, in most instances, the accompanying gestures must have determined the important question, which meaning out of the two possible ones was intended to be vested in each word on a particular occasion. Gossiping in those halting times cannot indeed have been the facile and pleasurable diversion it became in more civilised days, when notions, once fixed, were every one of them snugly put away in a separate term for separate expression. Nevertheless, as primordial mankind had neither very many nor very deep subjects to prattle about, and as the circumstances in which savages are placed are easily judged, and mostly

judged alike by the members of a barbarous household, men probably managed to understand each other tolerably well from the outset, the imperfections of their incipient speech notwithstanding. To this day savages, with little or no inkling of each other's language, fluently converse by gesture the moment the subject of the conversation is apprehended by the interlocutors. Nor should it be forgotten that, as reasoning developed, the most indispensable words must have gradually attained a definite signification—a gratifying process, which, by the way, admits of being watched in the Egyptian tongue. The more distinctly each part of the comparison was realised, the less occasion could there be to go on comparing.

Remnants of these pristine and, at first sight, rather perplexing dialectics are scattered even now over our modern tongues. However incredible it may appear, even in English, cases of opposite meanings crammed into the same vocable (comparatively frequent in Saxon) are not altogether wanting to-day. 'To bid' means 'to demand' as well as 'to offer.' As a substantive, 'down' designates an elevation; as a particle, it refers to what is below. The preposition 'with,' ordinarily conveying the notion of 'conjointly,' in words like 'withdraw, withhold, withgo, withsay,' assumes the opposite signification of 'away from' or 'against.' Nay, the compound 'without,' though combining the conflicting

ideas of 'with' and 'out,' conveys the sole notion of 'out' and 'outside,' thus perfectly illustrating the old principle of squeezing antagonistic concepts into a single term. And is not 'better,' though derived from 'bad,' the comparative of 'good'? Is not 'melior,' though derived from 'malus,' the comparative of 'bonus'? Is not 'worse' (Gothic 'wairs,' Icelandic 'ver,' Danish 'vaerre') the opposite of its Sanscrit equivalent 'vara,' meaning 'better,' meaning 'good'? Do not 'dobr,' 'khoroshi' (the latter as 'girsch'), and some other Slavic terms for 'good,' imitate the extraordinary example set them by 'blagi,' and designate 'bad' as well? Do not, in the case of 'dobr,' the two antagonistic meanings, actually and apparently irrationally, occur in the same vocable? While as regards the two others, is not Great Russian 'khoroshi' (good) flatly negatived by its Little Russian representative 'girsch,' importing 'bad'? Even apart from the large amount of corroborative evidence preserved in related idioms, is it possible to look at the following table, and explain the numerous inversions crowding into a single idea within a limited linguistic area as mere accident.

TABLE.

English: Bad, Comparative better.

Latin: Malus (bad), Comparative melior (better).

Sanscrit: Vara (good, better); but Icelandic, ver, worse;
 Danish, vaerre; Gothic, wairs (wairis *), worse; Eng-
 lish, worse.

Great Russian : Blagi (good and bad).

Great Russian : Dobr (good and bad).

Great Russian : Khoroshi (good) ; Little Russian, girsch (bad) ; Polish, gorsze (worse).

To revert to 'blagi,' its two opposite meanings are placed in peculiar juxtaposition. In Russian literary language this remarkable word bears the sense of 'good,' nay, 'pre-eminently good and superlatively excellent ;' in the language of the people it seems to have always expressed both 'good' and 'bad,' and preferably 'bad.' As in all cases of double meaning, the context decides on the particular signification intended to be expressed by the speaker in each instance. When an educated man says, 'Eto blagói savét,' he means, 'This is excellent advice ;' while when a boor utters, 'Lóschad blagáya,' he wishes to convey, 'This is a miserable old hack,' or 'Blagói tchelovék,' 'That is a *very* wicked fellow.' 'Blagoróдни,' as it means 'well-born,' *not* badly born, cannot, accordingly, be of popular origin. To bear the complimentary sense it does, it must have taken birth in good society. The colloquial ascription to the Russian nobility of noble-mindedness, consequently, must have arisen in nobility circles. From these, as culture extended, it gradually spread to the middle and lower orders, creating, it is to be hoped, a wholesome belief in the identity of goodness and might.

Having adverted to primeval inversion of *sense*

as a means of ascertaining the origin and signification of an existing Russian vocable, I may now appeal to inversion of *sound* for a similar purpose. Were there no historical evidence to define the meaning of 'boyard,' the oldest Russian nobility title, as slaveholder, the testimony of language would be pretty conclusive on the point. Phonetically inverting 'bar,' which is the root and oldest recorded form of 'boyárin,' we obtain the word 'rab.' This 'rab' in Russian signifies 'slave.' Thus by the side of the word 'bar,' master, we have an inversion in sound as well as in sense, 'rab,' slave. A brief inquiry will determine whether we should regard this peculiar correspondence as purely accidental, or whether it ought to be recognised as the consequence of a linguistic process effected for a purpose and embodying an intellectual result. Let us revert to Egyptian. Being the most ancient recorded form of human speech, this language retains primitive features with a freshness, a vividness, and a copiousness which, while it clearly displays, fully accounts for the most extraordinary peculiarities. In this comparison I take my stand simply upon the fact that there are etymological phenomena observable; but wholly unintelligible, in Aryan languages, which, in Egyptian, a tongue of similar type, a gender language, and one likewise spoken by people of Caucasian descent, occur so very frequently, and are displayed in so many consecutive stages of

their evolutionary development, that there they admit of being understood as to origin and purport. Without dwelling upon the demonstrable identity of many radical and formative elements, Egyptian, therefore, is here compared with Aryan on the mere ground that the laws of primitive thought and speech exhibited in the one are found to interpret peculiarities in the constitution of the other, the causes of which, in our Indo-European tongues, have long been obliterated by advance to a higher and more modern stage of logics and phonetics. In Russian, then, as in all Indo-European tongues, inversions of sound and sense, like 'bar' ∇ 'rab,' master v slave, though much more frequent than would be imagined by the unsuspecting, are yet too rare, and, in consequence, too unintelligible, to have attracted attention prior to the discovery of their copious and absolutely regular occurrence in Egyptian. Only after these topsy-turvy proceedings had been demonstrated as an irrefragable fact by thousands of Egyptian examples (which may be looked for in my "Coptic Researches"), did the numerous cases burst upon sight preserved in existing and highly advanced idioms. Only after the phonetic and intellectual operation involved in the change had been rationally explained by the disinterred laws of Egyptian grammar, could it be lawful to consider the analogous process in European languages as more than mere accident. Inversion of meaning I have already accounted for ;

as regards inversion of sound, its why and wherefore are readily understood upon reference to Egyptian etymology. In accordance with one of the best established laws of Hieroglyphic grammar, Egyptian roots may be enlarged by the repetition of the initial consonant at the end. The word 'ker,' for instance, may expand into 'kerk,' the *k* at the beginning being repeated at the end; the word 'fes' may swell into 'fesf,' &c. Monosyllabic roots being by this process dilated into bisyllabic ones, either syllable ultimately came to express the meaning originally vested in the first alone. 'Ker,' 'to turn round,' having developed into 'ker-k,' not only 'ker' and 'ker-rek,' but also 'rek' eventually denoted 'to revolve,' 'to rotate.' 'Fes,' 'to wash,' bulging out into 'fes-f,' not only 'fes' and 'fes-sef,' but also 'sef' alone at last meant 'to moisten, to purify, to clean.' The added second syllable, formed by the last letter of the first, augmented by the first letter of the first, necessarily is the inversion of the first. 'Ker,' augmented by initial *k*, becomes 'kerk, ker-rek,' first syllable 'ker,' second syllable 'rek.' Accordingly the second syllable is the inversion of the first; the accretion is the transposed original. Of course, in a primitive state of language, when any word might mean a thing, and its opposite as well, this licence of signification extended from the original root to its inverted form. Hence, as regards meaning, the phonetic inversion is as often

identical with the root as it is absolutely opposed to it. We just discovered 'sef' to signify 'to wash,' like its primary form 'fes;,' but while 'hen' means 'to bind,' 'neh,' the transposed accretion of 'hen,' signifies 'to separate.'

There are plenty of similar cases extant in English and the Indo-European and Semitic languages generally. Though they failed to attract attention by themselves, they catch the eye directly our visual powers are sufficiently sharpened by the frequent observation of the same phenomenon in Egyptian. Having no regard to vowel change (which is subject to special laws), we find, *e.g.*, in English the tip \diamond the pit, the one referring to what is above, the other to what is below; the stem \diamond the mast, the one signifying a tree, the other what is made of it; to stir \diamond to rest—all inversions of sound and sense. Again, we come across such words as 'to care' \wedge 'to reck;,' 'to tap' \wedge 'to pat;,' 'to heal' \wedge 'the leech;,' 'to grip' \wedge 'to prig;,' 'the boat' \wedge 'the tub'—all inversions of sound alone. Or admitting cognate dialects into the inquiry, we discover numerous parallels like the following: 'to wait' \wedge Lowland German 'taiw,' with exactly the same meaning as 'to wait;,' 'to tear' \wedge Lowland German 'reet,' with precisely the same signification as 'to tear;,' 'the pot,' \wedge equivalent to Lowland German 'top;,' 'the hole' \wedge equivalent to Lowland German 'loch;,' 'to clash' \wedge equivalent to German 'schlag;,' &c. Again, we are startled to detect that 'to

hurry,' inverted in sound as well as in sense, in German becomes 'ruh,' anglice 'rest;' whereas in Polish this identical 'ruh' (rukh) means 'hurry,' and compared with its English equivalent is inverted only in sound. The 'lug,' scottice that which hears, is found to correspond to the Latin inversion of sense, 'loq-ui,' *i.e.*, the performance which is heard. The Latin 'carp-ere,' to seize, is a phonetic and mental inversion of the Latin 'prec-ari,' of the Polish 'prag-nać,' and of the Lithuanian 'praszi-iti,' 'to desire.' The English 'lief,' Latin 'lib-et,' and German 'lief, lieb,' phonetically metamorphosed in Greek becomes 'φιλ-ός.' The English 'to clamour,' with its relatives, the Latin 'clamare,' and the Slovenic 'kram-lyati,' 'to cry, to bawl, to speak,' inverted in sound and sense in Russian occurs as 'molč-aty,' 'to be silent.' This Russian 'molč-aty,' again, explains the etymology of Latin 'clam,' 'silently, secretly,' a word which, long investigated in vain, with the aid of these novel tests is determined to be nothing else but the inversion in sense of its cognate 'clamare.' And so forth, especially in the Slavic languages, whose various branches supply a perfectly conclusive multitude of examples.

A few specifically Slavic examples, comprising different idioms of the great eastern division of European speech, may, perhaps, be suitably quoted :

(1.) Inversion of sense: Czech, tem-e, top of a mountain or a tree v Slovenic, tem-en, deep; Slov.

kup, plenty v Czech. chyb-a, dearth ; Finno-Russ. blagi, good and bad ; dobri, good and bad ; skorbítý, to strengthen v skorbéty, differently conjugated, to be ill ; Slavo-Russ. dobrischtsche, a great good or a great evil ; Slavo-Russ. χudi, a pauper ; χudobá, poverty, but v χudóba, wealth ; prigóda, lucky and unlucky accident ; prigodítý, to be profitable v pri-godsítý, to be unprofitable ; Finno-Russ. slóvo, that which is communicated, the word v Slavo-Russ. slóvo, that which is kept back, the secret, &c.

(2.) Inversion of sound, the meaning remaining the same : Russ. ves \wedge Serv. sev, all ; Russ. pol-a \wedge Lith. lap-as, leaf ; Russ. χreb-et \wedge Slov. breg, hill ; Russ. palk-a, cudgel \wedge Slov. klep-ati, to cudgel, to beat ; Slov. bol-ši \wedge Polish, lep-szy, better ; Russ. shtshel, gap \wedge Serv. luc-iti, to separate ; Lith. riek-ti, to cut \wedge Polish, s-kier-a, hatchet ; Polish, rość, to grow v Russ. shir-okij, large ; Russ. beg-aty, to go \wedge Slov. na-gib-ati, to move about ; Russ. kaz-aty \wedge Lith. sak-yti, to speak ; Serv. ćut-eti, to be silent \wedge Slov. u-taž-iti, to silence ; Czech, sop-titi, to breathe \wedge Lith. pus-ti, to blow ; Lith. laiž-ati \wedge Slov. žul-iti, to lick ; Russ. tem-nyi \wedge Slov. mot-en, dark ; Polish, ciem-ni \wedge Slov. mež-av, dark ; Polish, kol-o \wedge luk, circle, ark ; Slov. seb-iti, dividere \wedge Russ. bez, without.

(3.) Inversion of sound and sense : Russ. bur-iy, dark-coloured \diamond Lith. raib-as, particoloured ; Russ. mrač-niy, dark \diamond čerm-nyi, light, shining ; Lith. plik-as, naked \diamond Serv. po-klop-iti, to cover up ;

Lith. tam-si, dark ♢ mat-iti, to see ; Lith. rēk-ti, of clamour ♢ kur-o, deaf, &c.

These specimens might be easily multiplied ; but the whole extent of the process will only admit of being measured after the laws of phonetic change shall have been carried back to a period no longer very clearly discernible in the preserved form, and with the unaided etymological resources, of Indo-European speech.

At this point we resume our Russian argument. Inversions on the Egyptian pattern abounding in the various Slavonic languages, these twin segments of a bifurcated root, after what has been said, admit of being, nay, require to be, connected by an intellectual tie in Russian as well as in Hamitic. Applying this unavoidable conclusion to the vocable in hand, there is, then, more than mere accidental coincidence between the words 'bar,' master, and 'rab,' slave. There is a phonetic and spiritual bond found to exist between the two. In other words, the master, who, himself being called 'bar,' had a servant called 'rab,' anglice slave, presumably must have been the *master* of a *slave*, a *slaveholder*. What the oldest Russian nobility title was intended to convey is thus etymologically defined. With the linguistic evidence elicited the testimony of history, it is well known, concurs only too fully.

IV.

*THE LINGUISTIC CONCEPTION OF LIBERTY
IN RUSSIAN AND POLISH AS COM-
PARED WITH LATIN.*

IV.

ONCE or twice a year we are startled by the publication of books and pamphlets recommending the adoption of some universal language. In these periodical addresses to an ungrateful world, nations are admonished to agree upon a common idiom, which shall be spoken from pole to pole, and be equally intelligible in London, Berlin, and Timbuctoo. The grand reform once effected, nations, we are assured by the confident authors, will be speedily connected by the ties of universal brotherhood. As they will perfectly comprehend each other, they will find it easy to appreciate their mutual qualities, and settle their lingering feuds. The progress of knowledge, too, will be infinitely promoted by there being only one literature equally accessible to all. As to trade, it is clear that it must take an altogether new departure so soon as the red crocodile-hunter on the banks of the Amazon can be daily advised by his correspondent in Cheapside as to the exact article wanted in the market.

To accelerate the realisation of these glowing prophecies, the advocates of linguistic unity either propose the extension of some existing idiom to all

the various races of the universe, or else are good enough to invent for the common benefit a new tongue, more simple, and therefore more perfect in their estimation, than any they know. I remember reading a Servian pamphlet several years ago, in which the desired simplicity was actually sought to be attained by reducing every word to a number, and declining and conjugating by appended numerals. No Chinese memory would have been equal to the formidable task of retaining the signification of these cyphered hieroglyphics. If it takes a mandarin ten years to learn to read and to write the literary idiom of his land, twenty must have been consumed in the acquisition of the Servian pasigraphy which was to have developed international relations. So we may congratulate ourselves upon its not having been adopted, except by the inventor.

Supposing, however, the innovation *could* be carried through, its possible effects should not be overrated. They would be infinitely less than their advocates fancy. Pasigraphs and pasilalists are wont to start on the supposition that all languages express the same ideas, and that the only discrepancy between them consists in that they embody their otherwise identical notions in different sounds. The English word 'friend' and the Russian word 'priyátel,' for instance, are assumed to mean exactly the same thing; their difference being sur-

mised to be limited to the fact that the one is sounded 'friend,' the other 'priyátel.' Yet nothing could be more erroneous than this hypothesis.

Words mean what nations put into them, and the thoughts of nations differing upon most subjects, the significations of their words equally clash. The Russian conception of 'friendship' varying from the English, the word 'priyátel,' though it may be the closest approach to the English 'friend' the Russian dictionary supplies, should not be mistaken as being identical with the term which it is of necessity used to render. Names of ordinary objects excepted, it is the same with most words of the dictionary. As a rule, every language lends to every idea a particular shade, a special *nuance*, which constitutes the national peculiarity of its verbal representative, and causes it to diverge from similar notions in other tongues. The greater the importance a language attaches to an idea, the more carefully, the more specifically will it mould the signification of the words conveying the same; the more indifferent a notion appears, the more general, the more vague will be its expression.

The introduction of universal language, therefore, would be far from ensuring uniformity of thought. Although the sounds might be the same, meanings would be speedily varied according to the idiosyncrasies of the individual races. Many words would be dropped by many races, not being needed

or understood by them ; nearly all other vocables would have to undergo more or less marked changes of signification before they could convey what each single people might think fit to put into them. It is, perhaps, not too much to say that mutual unintelligibility would be actually augmented by the success of the pasilaetic scheme. When all nations use the same dictionary, but each in a different sense, misunderstandings are more likely to arise than under existing arrangements, when discrepancy of meaning is marked by diversity of words.

There is, however, no fear that existing languages will speedily die out. Though languages are certainly diminishing in number, the survivors gain additional strength from swallowing up the inheritance of the defunct. The weaker die out ; the stronger add to the number of their subjects by conquering the orphaned vassals of those that are dead and gone. For the present, then, the knowledge of the national diversity of significations is still facilitated by the palpable disparity of vocables.

In acquiring Russian and Polish more particularly, the strange, though not at all unharmonious, sounds lead us to expect novel ideas. The anticipation is certainly not disappointed by the analysis of significations. The dissection of a few Slavic words bearing upon the notion of freedom will, I hope, prove that the prevailing difference of national

thought extends to the most ordinary ideas, and that it fairly admits of being traced in the meaning of representative terms. The more fully to realise the Slavic hue of the concepts selected, a comparison will be subsequently instituted with Latin, a highly developed, and at the same time an altogether heterogeneous tongue. It is through gauging one language by another that we learn to appreciate the peculiarity of each.

Poles have long distinguished between personal and political liberty. Opposite circumstances combined to recommend the distinction. Personal liberty in matters exempt from political control, in accordance with the unconstrained character of the race, has always been unbounded in Poland; political liberty, on the contrary, until within comparatively recent times, was restricted to a small section of the people, the rest being kept in a state of absolute, or nearly absolute, subordination. It would have been absurd to confuse the notions of personal and political liberty when personal liberty was less restrained by feeling, custom, and practice than in most other countries, while political liberty did not exist, except for the select few.

In keeping with the difference felt and expressed, the word signifying 'personally free' originally means only 'willing, having a will,'—'wolny,' 'willing, having a will,' and accordingly 'free,' a derivation from 'wola,' 'the will.' The significa-

tion 'willing' is understood in both senses included in the concept; it *may* mean no more than 'inclined to do a thing, ready, prepared;' and it *may* mean 'willing and able to *work* one's will,' and in consequence 'free.' 'Mam władzę obrania, albo jestem wolny,' anglisce, 'I have the power of choice, and accordingly am free,' or more literally 'am a wilful agent.' 'Nie każdy wolen, który okowów nie nosi,' 'Not all are free that carry no fetters.' In this latter sense of having and exercising a will, the word applies to all the various shades of freedom in personal and private life. Occasionally it refers even to political freedom; for as those who possessed political freedom were no less inclined than their dependants to exercise personal discretion in private matters as well, the twofold liberty of the upper classes, the political and the personal, eventually came to be included in the term which emphasises the cherished privilege of 'free will. 'Wolny' in this case undergoes an extension rather than an alteration of meaning; it simply denotes the comprehensive liberty enjoyed by the lords of the land, in their double capacity of lords as well as of individuals. The political shade is especially marked in 'wolność,' 'liberty.' Wolność lends itself more naturally to the expression of political liberty, which is a *frequent* term, than to freedom of choice, which—as a noun—is an abstruse metaphysical notion.

Of the metaphorical applications of 'wolny,' which hardly concern this inquiry into the notion of freedom proper, two are peculiarly characteristic, and would seem to deserve mention. Originally signifying 'free to do a thing,' 'wolny,' at a certain period of its history, came to denote 'free from being done a thing,' i.e., free from something, exempt from something. The stronger the *active* sense inherent in its original meaning, the more easily did it refer to a permanent condition, which, in its turn, admitted of being interpreted in the passive mood. He who always acts freely is in the condition of a freeman, and, being in it, may not be subjected to oppression, is free from, exempt from oppression. Out of this derivative sense of 'free from, exempt from,' there arises the tertiary signification of 'easy,' 'relaxed,' and even 'relaxing.' That a thing which is left to itself, which is not constrained, is apt to become easygoing, loose, and weak, would seem to have appeared a natural conclusion to the Pole. I say a thing, not a man; intent upon asserting its original nobility, and redeeming this falling off from its proud primary sense, 'wolny,' in the meaning of loose, unless it signify licentious, is restricted to inanimate objects. A gown, when it is 'wolny,' is an easy and flowing garment; a man, being called 'wolny,' is, on the contrary, understood to assert himself as an independent individual. Another and rather discour-

teous metaphor is that which causes Poles to regard a man, when emphatically designated as 'wolny,' as a bachelor. A free man in Polish may either mean a freeman, or a man, as the Poles uncivilly imply, 'without encumbrance.'

To describe *political* freedom the Poles have the words 'swobodny,' free, and 'swoboda,' freedom. These words, which have been the object of many crude etymological guesses, on reference to the parallel form of 'sloboda' are explained with approximative certainty as 'strong,' 'courageous,' 'self-asserting.' Change of *l* into *v*, under certain circumstances, being a peculiarity of Slavonic phonetics, 'sloboda' (a portion of the historical evidence notwithstanding) should be considered the more ancient form of the two. Due regard being had to the inversion of sense and sound proved in a preceding lecture, the root 'slob,' in the sense of free, upon comparison with 'slabi,' weak, timid, and other cognate vocables, is discovered to point to the original signification of 'strong,' 'courageous.' It is well known that the English word 'free' derives its origin from a root of analogous import, which, toned down to the level of modern civilisation in Great Britain, in Germany to this day retains its primary meaning of 'bold,' 'insolent': 'freoh,' 'frech.' But, whatever its origin, 'swobodny,' in its historical acceptation, plainly bears the sense of politically free. A man, not the

born or bought serf of the lord of the manor, was properly designated 'swobodny.' Only a man, who was a *man* and not a slave, was justified in claiming this honorary title: all others might be very 'wolny,' very free in dealing with their wives, children, and chattels, but had no right to call themselves 'swobodny,' freemen and independent members of the community. In the present state of the country, when serfdom is abolished, and freedom, in the sense in which modern Poles are apt to interpret the term, is not conceded, 'swobodny' is a vocable which has almost fallen into disuse. At all times, however, reference to social condition has been so emphatically accentuated in the word as to confine it very much to this one meaning, and almost exclude metaphor. When the word does not mean politically free, it may indicate some peculiarly characteristic qualities of a freeman, such as frank, obstinate, unceremonial, and the like; into the domain of private and undemonstrative freedom it hardly ever emerges.

In the Russian idea of freedom Polish notions run into extremes. With the same general discrimination between political and personal liberty, between servitude and volition, either concept in Russian is carried to a pitch unknown in Polish. As regards personal liberty, it is assumed to be so absolutely identified with the gratification of one's every wish, that the Russian word which means 'liberty' signifies 'will' as well. And not only

'will,' but 'wish, desire, hankering, cupidity, contumacy, licence, and licentiousness' too. All these significations, together with those of volition and personal liberty, are contained in the ordinary Russian term for freedom (*volya*). The striking combination of ideas embodied in this aggregate term, '*volya*,' had, perhaps, be better illustrated by a few examples. '*Swetáyá vólýa bójjia*' means 'the holy will of God.' '*Kto yemú ne velít : svoya volya*,' 'Why should he do this' (or omit to do this, as the case may be), 'when he has liberty to act as he chooses?' is a passage in which the freedom of choice, the *liberum arbitrium*, is conspicuously apparent. Again, '*Vólnomu vólýa, spasénomu rai*,' 'Freedom to the free and paradise to the redeemed,' conveys the loftiest conception of liberty. With these exalted shades of will, freedom, and liberty, compare the meaner applications of the same word, such as the following:—'*Svóya vólýa stráshneye nevóli*,' 'To have one's *will* is worse than to be a slave;' or '*Vólýa i dobra mujjka portít*,' 'Freedom and its obstinate use' (all this being included in the one word '*vólýa*') 'deprave even a good man;' '*Dai dúsche vólýu, zakhótchet i bóle*,' 'Indulge in licence, and you will never be sated.' It will be readily conceded that to admit of these various interpretations—will, liberty, and licence—freedom must be conceived by the Russians as the unrestrained exercise

of individual volition, not as the modified and temperate application of one's independence, which alone is compatible with the weal of self and of others. This peculiar conception of liberty naturally implies not only the power (as every conception of liberty should), but also the disposition (as no conception of liberty ought) to transgress. In a fainter though still sufficiently prominent degree, the same chequered hue is preserved by the adjective 'volni,' 'free, unbridled, licentious.' In both cases the Pole, though similarly disposed, takes a somewhat different view. The Polish 'wolny,' 'free,' in the wide extent of its meaning, borders upon, but does not go the length of, the corresponding Russian term; in point of fact, whenever it does not actually mean 'free,' it signifies much more frequently 'easygoing, lax, gentle,' than anything like 'too free, unlawful, or licentious.' Again, the Polish 'wola,' 'will,' unlike the Russian 'vólya,' has nothing at all to do with liberty, but is exclusively reserved for the expression of its primary and more restricted sense, 'will;' while the Polish 'wolność,' 'liberty,' means nothing but liberty, thus completing the line the language draws between the abstract freedom of choice and its discreet application, between personal volition and the use made of it under the necessary social restraints. I may here observe that the Russian likewise possesses the term 'volnost,' 'liberty,' by the side of 'volya,' 'will, caprice,

and liberty;' but 'his volnost' refers to the condition rather than to the quality or the act, and is altogether a more abstract and bookish vocable than 'volya.' When the Russian revolutionary party raised the cry of 'Land and Liberty for the peasant,' it would have been both incorrect and affected for them to ask in their proclamations, for 'Zemya i volnost;' to be popular and to accurately define their intention to procure and accord personal independence, they had to demand, not 'volnost,' but 'volya.'

Political liberty, *i.e.*, the liberty which consists in not belonging to the enthralled classes, in Russian, as in Polish, is expressed by the vocables 'svobodni' and 'svoboda,' 'free, freedom.' The proper sense and application are the same in both languages; but the metaphorical use of the two adjectives, at least, is characteristically different. In Polish, 'wolny,' 'personally free,' diverges into the direction of 'easy, lax, gentle;' whereas 'swobodny,' 'politically free,' remains more or less confined to its original sphere. In the sister tongue it is just the reverse, the Russian 'svobodni' assuming the tropical signification of the Polish 'wolny,' and the Russian 'volni' remaining shut up in its first more direct sense. How is this? Why should in Polish the notion of 'personally free,' why should in Russian the opposite idea of 'politically independent,' expand into the cognate concept of laxity?

The reason may be plainly enough discerned from what has been said, and indeed confirms preceding remarks. Russian personal liberty involves too much self-will and energetic caprice ever to become lax. Polish personal liberty, on the other hand, implying the permanent possession of freedom in preference to the momentary use of it, its linguistic exponents are apt to refer to the condition rather than the act, and in consequence are liable to decline into a certain quiescence, inertness, and looseness. Accordingly, if they wished to express at all the connection existing between want of restraint and indulgence, the Russians had to embody the idea in their political-liberty vocables, while the Poles, *per contra*, were preferably attracted by the quieter tone of their personal-freedom nomenclature.

A word altogether peculiar to the Russian is 'prostór.' It means originally 'wide and empty space,' and in its figurative signification of 'liberty' is a most significant complement of 'volya,' 'unrestrained will.' As 'volya' indicates 'untrammelled volition,' so 'prostór' expresses 'unbounded scope;' the one is the absolute capacity of a man to work his free will, the other the perfect favour of circumstance, the complete absence of impediment or restraint. The existence of 'prostór,' unnecessary as it would seem to be, when the same idea in a different form is so fully conveyed in another word, supplies interesting evidence in support of the

specific tinge of the entire concept in the Russian tongue. 'Smert dúsche prostór,' 'Death is liberty to the soul.' 'Prostóru rebyatám davát isbalú-yutsya,' 'By allowing too much liberty to children, we are sure to spoil them.' In these and many similar instances neither 'volya' nor 'volnost,' respectively denoting 'freedom as an act and possession,' or 'freedom as condition,' suffice to express the wide, vast, and boundless liberty aspired to by the Russian mind. To fully express his yearning for entire absence of restraint, the Russian in these cases is obliged to have recourse to a term actually signifying 'absolute emptiness and infinite scope.' Such are the Russian facts. The moral is easily drawn. Whatever adventitious circumstances may have retarded the growth of political liberty in Russia, the national conception of *personal* freedom is pitched somewhat too high to effectually promote the development of public institutions.

Before proceeding with this inquiry, I may perhaps be permitted to revert to one of the examples quoted, in order to illustrate the peculiar vagueness and abruptness indulged in by Russian colloquial speech. The example referred to is this: 'Kto yemú ne velít : svóya vólya ;' literally, 'Quis ei non jubere : sua voluntas,' or, 'Who to him not to order : his will.' This apparently very deep and unintelligible passage is intended to convey nothing more formidable than the simple phrase, 'Who com-

mands him? He has his own free will.' Strange as it may appear, the negative in this case is understood not to negative, but, on the contrary, to strengthen the affirmation contained in the word 'order' to which it belongs. 'Who orders him?' in this case being intended to convey that nobody orders him, the Russian, with more regard for the general sense than the specific logic of his utterance, boldly asks, 'Who orders him not?' As to the infinitive 'to order' instead of the present tense 'orders,' and the abrupt statement, 'his will,' instead of 'he has his free will,' these are national abbreviations which must be taken into the bargain. Logical leaps, anticipated meanings, and abrupt grammar of this nature abound in colloquial Russian, and sometimes make it hard to follow the gist of popular confab.

The scene is completely changed on entering Latin ground. In Latin a single word suffices to describe the political condition of a freeman, and the latitude left to all alike to be guided by their own discretion in the management of their own private affairs. Though the freeman alone was called 'liber' in the political sense of the term, both freeman and slave were equally entitled to the important designation in respect of their freedom of choice as rational beings, and of the margin left them by the law of the land. In Rome, freeman and slave alike were wont to say, 'Liberum

habeo aliquid, liberum est mihi,'* though the man who used the confident phrase was, peradventure, not a 'liber' himself as regarded the possession of civil rights. In Russia civil and personal freedom until lately were considered two such entirely distinct entities, that the word which applied to the former was by the very fact disqualified from referring to the latter. A Russian would have to strain his language were he to say, 'Svobodno mne' instead of 'Volno mne,' 'I am politically free to attend to my own private affairs,' instead of, 'I am personally free to do so.' In Latin the distinction does not exist, and a man is simply and unqualifiedly free in his own personal concerns. Of the various figurative shades of 'liber,' let it suffice to say that the livid hue of licentiousness, frequently apparent in the Russian term for 'personally free,' hardly ever disfigures the noble colouring of the Latin word. The unconstrainedness of 'liber' is *dégagé*, but neither flippant nor loose. 'Liber,' which stood so high that the children in a respectable house were called 'liberi,' the free, in contradistinction to the vernæ or domestic slaves, could not well descend to the low level of excess.

Notwithstanding, however, the care taken in guarding the perfect purity of the word from metaphorical taint, the Romans could not fail to observe that there was a difference between 'liber' and

* 'I am free to do this.'

· liber.' From an early period they had too many 'liberti,' 'liberated slaves,' among them to be able to regard all 'liberi' as essentially alike. All, indeed, who boasted the name were expected to behave with the becoming propriety of freemen, as may be inferred from the dignified limits within which the signification of the word was wont to keep. Still, the man born and bred a freeman, early inured to a noble and intelligent view of the universe, and exempt from the temptations of a sordid struggle for life, naturally was a different being from the upstart who achieved independence at an advanced age, and could not help carrying the traces of past disabilities about with him in his new career. To express their sense of the innate discrepancy between the two characters, the Romans called the man born free 'ingenuus,' and the man set free 'libertus;' the former term implying a noble liberality of thought and act, the latter admitting a tinge of meanness into its otherwise creditable sense. So religiously was the distinction upheld, that down to the fifth century of the republic the son of a 'libertus' even had no right to call himself 'ingenuus,' but had to content himself with the minor appellation, 'libertinus.' Only the grandson was considered to have had his mind sufficiently cleansed from the lingering dregs of low descent, to deserve the rank and title of 'ingenuus.' Later on, it is true, the sons of the

'liberti' were at once promoted to the dignity of 'ingenui;' still later, under the emperors, the 'liberti' achieved the final stage of becoming 'ingenui' at a leap, and holding high office, and wearing the 'latus clavus,' or broad-bordered vestment, immediately on emerging from servitude. But in those days ancient Rome existed no more. With the decay of the old families, the advent of many cultivated prisoners combined to bridge over the gulf between freeman and serf.

Still, the self-respect of the upper classes, which instituted the original discrimination between 'liber' and 'libertus,' was not wholly extinct even then. In proportion as 'ingenuus' became depreciated, 'liberalis,' a term not formerly in frequent use, acquired additional weight and increased currency. Birth, in those ochlocratic days, being no longer of much account, the worth it formerly tended to ensure, if it existed at all, was found to be the product of individual merit, and, accordingly, was expressed by a vocable denoting a fresh variety of ingenuousness and its beneficent consequences. In accord with its history, this innovating term, 'liberalis,' applied to individual features in a man's character rather than the entire character. The upper class was gone or going when the word attained popularity, and what gentlemanly feeling there remained was bound up with the superior qualities of individuals, not with the uniform distinction and

abiding rank of the members of a caste. While the ancients used to delight in the appellations 'ingenuus homo,' 'ingenuus vir,'—noble and free man—their descendants were content to extol the 'mens liberalis,' the 'artes liberales,' the 'studia liberalissima'—the liberal mind, the liberal arts and the liberal knowledge. In one characteristic phrase only 'liberalis' was habitually coupled with the names of individuals. When it described that species of nobility which consists in being free with one's money, it was considered the predominant attribute of a man, not a mere qualification of one of his various attributes, as in all other instances. In that sense, the most desirable in the public opinion of those days, 'liberalis homo'—a liberal man—used to be dubbed in dictatorial and imperial times he who bought influence with cash and handsomely paid for the right to oppress. The 'ingenuus homo' of old was a freeman, and mostly a nobleman, who happened to be a *noble man* as well; the 'liberalis homo'—the term which replaced the 'ingenuus homo' in the decline of the State—was understood to be a party that hired the mob for his own personal aggrandisement. In the history of their words we discern the landmarks of a nation's moral and intellectual life.

The temperate character of Roman liberty is seen in two words, respectively flanking the grave and the more free-and-easy side of 'liber': 'arbitrium'

and 'licentia.' Themselves repressing what there is of license in them, both vocables are highly characteristic of the Roman mind and manners. 'Arbitrium' is the absolute exercise of one's judgment and will, unrestrained by any law. The gods rule the world by 'arbitrium,' not by their mere *liberty* to act as they please: 'Jovis O. M. nutu et arbitrio cœlum terra mariaque reguntur'—Cic. Rosc. Am. 45. 131.* The conqueror deals with his defeated enemy in accordance with his arbitrary decision: 'Populum Romanum victis non ad alterius præscriptum sed ad suum arbitrium imperare consuesse'—Cæs. Bell. Gall. 1. 36.† And the Equity Judge or arbiter, whether appointed by the State or selected by the litigants, is equally entitled to use his own absolute discretion in case of defective evidence: 'Non sub formula judicat'—Sen. Clem. 2. 7.‡ 'Ex rebus penitus perspectis planeque cognitis atque ab opinionis arbitrio se-junctis'—Cic. de Or. 1. 23. § But this absolute and discretionary decision is absolute only in respect of its being untrammelled by law or custom. It is all the same subject to reason, equity, and humane feeling. It is, in reality, the reverse of arbitrariness, being the very essence and acme of justice.

* Heaven and earth are governed by the will of omnipotent Jove.

† Romans are wont to deal with defeated nations as they please, not as others may be disposed to prescribe.

‡ His judgment is not restricted by the ordinary judicial limits.

§ Conclusive evidence, exempt from guess or doubt.

It enforces right in spheres inaccessible to statute law, and metes out justice from loftier considerations than the ordinary judge can be allowed to admit. There is a grand passage in Seneca de Benef. 3. 7, thus nobly defining the arbiter's office : 'Arbitri liberi nullis astricta vinculis religio et detrahere aliquid potest, et adjicere, et sententiam suam non prout lex aut justitia suadet, sed prout humanitas et misericordia impulit regere.'*

Such was the noble use habitually made by Romans of unrestrained decision and volition. It remains to analyse their idea of uncontrolled action as embodied in 'licentia.' Like 'arbitrium,' 'licentia,' in its primary acceptation, is a license *legally* conceded and possessed : it is the elbow-room left to a man by law or custom in certain less important matters. 'Licere id dicimus, quod legibus, quod more majorum institutisque conceditur. Neque enim quod quisque potest, id ei licet ; nec si non obstat, propterea etiam permittitur'—Cic. Orat. Philippicæ xiii. 6.† License, accordingly, *originally* was freedom of choice in minor or other altogether uncontrollable matters. It was the freedom to eat and drink, and indulge

* Arbiters are free to extend or restrict the bearings of the case submitted to them, and may judge, not according to the letter of the law, but according to an equitable, humane, and sympathetic view of the matter.

† Only what the laws and the manners and customs of our ancestors allow is permitted. A man may meet with no resistance, and yet commit an unlicensed act.

oneself as much as one liked. It was the margin left to the father of a family in managing his household. It was the latitude allowed every one in arranging the lesser details of social intercourse. It was the warrant, too, bestowed upon dictator and emperor to act according to circumstances in a political crisis or in war. In point of fact, it was liberty, a necessary and most legitimate liberty, and no licence at all. If it was called 'licentia,' not 'libertas,' the distinction solely arose from the wish of the Romans to divorce liberty and its accurately defined privileges from 'licentia,' a condition and an act somewhat *too* free to admit of being included in the Roman temperate concept of *free*.

However, privilege uncontrolled and affecting matters which from their very nature *cannot* easily be controlled, is apt to be overstepped. Hence we are speedily treated to such phraseology as 'licentia cupiditatum,' 'licentia juvenum,' 'militum,' 'poetarum.'* When abuse of privilege had perverted the sense of the word from its primary to this secondary shade, *licentia* was only too well fitted to express a greater contrast to liberty than before. *Ancient* 'licentia' meant private freedom within the narrow limits left to it by the well-ordered and disciplined 'libertas,' which ruled Roman life; *later* 'licentia' signified the political license which invaded the domain of liberty and shattered the State.

* The license of youth, of poets, of soldiery.

'Civitas inter libertatem et licentiam incerta,'* as Tacitus pointedly contrasts the two sister notions (Hist. 2. 10. 1).

We close our synonymical dissection, and proceed to summarise and compare the principal results obtained. Poles, Russians, and Romans alike distinguish between private and public, between personal and political liberty. But the private liberty of the Russians is conceived as identical with the *unfettered* exercise of volition, from will down to whim, cupidity, and caprice. The Pole, on the other hand, though his liberty is a very wide concept too, begins to distinguish between liberty and will, assigning to the former a more restricted province in accord with its recognised intersocial character, and a due respect for the interests of others. In Latin, finally, the domain of private liberty was so effectually restricted by law and custom, '*lex mos et consuetudo*,' that, whether it appeared in the guise of the disciplined '*libertas*' or the less strictly supervised '*licentia*,' freedom was conceded only to an extent compatible with a proper respect for the claims of others.

It is a remark worth making, that the Russian '*volya*,' freedom, approaches more closely the Latin '*licentia*,' license, than any other term occurring in the Latin nomenclature for 'liberty.' As to '*prostor*,' the truly national superlative of the

* A State oscillating between liberty and license.

Russian 'volya' and 'volnost,' the Roman mind was incapable of forming the concept.

With his greater self-command, and more active regard for his neighbour's rights and feelings, the Roman, politically, became the freest of the three nationalities reviewed. His cherished designation of 'liber' was not only opposed to the 'servus,' the man positively the property of another; it involved not only the right to dispose of one's time and the fruits of one's labour as one listed; it also included the privilege to participate in the conduct of public affairs. The Russian 'svobodni' never did anything of the kind: its import was always limited to absence of slavery.

The Polish 'swobodny,' in its connection with 'pan, lord,' produced the famous title of 'swobodny pan,' a translation of the medieval Latin 'liber baro,' anglice a baron. Noblemen boasting this epithet were not only freemen, but the masters and governors of the State to a most inordinate degree. It is well known that, at one time, every one of them claimed the right to ratify, or else resist, the enactment of new bills by parliament, and that it was this unreasonable pretension, the so-called *Liberum Veto*, which so effectually contributed to disorganise the Polish Commonwealth.

As regards the transition from slavery to liberty, Russians, Poles, and Latins have special terms designating the man that achieves freedom. But

the Russian 'otpúschtschennik' and the Polish 'wyzwóléniec,' not to speak of other equivalents for freedman, refer merely to the species of boor that is no longer attached to the soil; any further allusion to social advance, to a rise in the world, to aspiration eked out by vulgarity, such as is plainly heard in the peculiar ring of the Latin 'libertus,' these Slavic words do not contain. Persons bearing these names are, by Russian and Polish institutions, as a rule, excluded from every chance of entering society. They are peasants, and either remain peasants or become tradesmen, and even merchants, without the hope, or, in many cases, the wish, to acquire culture or attain rank. The Polish term 'wyzwólencyk' corresponds indeed to the Latin 'libertinus,' 'a freedman's son,' and might be supposed to refer to a higher round on the social ladder; yet this word too is confined to mere rustic use. As to the natural connection between free station and liberal disposition, expressed in the language of aristocratic Rome by 'ingenuus,' and in the ochlocratic Empire by 'liberalis,' neither Russian nor Polish has lodged this shade in any of its liberty words. To represent an ingenuous and liberal mind as the outcome of social station, both languages require to fall back upon the nobility nomenclature. 'Blagoróдни' and 'szlachetny,' 'noble in rank and mind, illustrious and magnanimous,' however different from the more catholic 'ingenuus'

and 'liberalis,' are yet the nearest equivalents of them.

Is it necessary to observe that in England, where all men have long been freemen, there is no occasion to set a special word apart for political liberty as distinct from personal freedom? Or need it be pointed out that the only appreciable difference between the two nouns, 'freedom' and 'liberty,' is this, that the Saxon word is rather an act than a condition, and the Norman more abstract and constitutional term a condition rather than an act? We *speak* with *freedom*, and we *are* at *liberty* to speak with freedom. We *possess freedom* of will, and *enjoy liberty* of conscience. To grant him a voter's right, one man is presented with the *freedom* of the city, while all citizens rejoice in owning the *liberties* of the burgh. However, I hardly dare enter upon the analysis of English notions at this hour and at this place. I will only observe that the English notion of liberty could not adequately be investigated without calling in words like 'independent,' 'scope,' 'range,' 'latitude,' and others less directly affecting the concept in the languages included in this rapid sketch.

Science is but beginning systematic inquiry into the meaning of related words, forms, and syntactical combinations. A new and promising task is set to philology: so long chiefly clinging to the form, linguistics tend to accentuate the essence of language

as well in the future. To the elementary acquisition of language according to parts of speech the less abstract and infinitely more fertile study will be added according to ideas expressed. The notions of nations will be accurately realised by an analytical and comparative study of their dictionaries, and the lexicon linked to the grammar in a joint elucidation of the ideas common to both. Grammar, psychology, ethnology, and the history of human culture will be equally benefited by the gradual accomplishment of this noble work. I shall deem myself happy if, whilst discoursing upon the potent and gifted race of Slav, I am considered to have not altogether failed in establishing some such linguistic facts after this novel method. England and the English-speaking world generally, whose national dictionary, in its rare completeness and precision, offers an excellent gauge of less copious and accurate tongues, seems pre-eminently fitted to take an active part in developing psychological linguistics.

V.

EGYPTIAN INVERSION.

V.

THE following tables are appended to illustrate the Egyptian inversion of sound and sense, alluded to in the third chapter. Of the examples selected, few, if any, require a knowledge of Egyptian phonetics to be intelligible at sight. It may not, however, be altogether superfluous to observe, that Egyptian admits of copious vowel-change, and for the enlargement of its roots habitually resorts to the use of a complicated prefix and suffix machinery ; the orthography adopted separates roots from affixes. Further tables and explanations of the extraordinary phenomenon will be found in treatises upon the 'Origin of Language' and 'Coptic Intensification,' included in the author's 'Linguistic Essays,' as well as in his 'Coptic Researches' and 'Egyptian Etymology.'

A.—INVERSION OF SOUND.

āb ʾ ba, stone, wall.
 āb ʾ bā, stone.
 ābāb ʾ babe, to vanish.
 ām ʾ ma, equally.
 ām ʾ ma, place.
 ām ʾ ma, come.

ān ʾ nā, catalogue.
 ān, to imitate ʾ na, equally as.
 ān ʾ nāā, colour.
 ār ʾ rā, to make.
 ās ʾ sa, beautiful.
 ās ʾ sa, miserable.

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u-bes Δ u-seb, a heap.
 pir Δ rep-i, to grow.
 ush Δ shu, immense.
 pā-t Δ ap-e, head, beginning.
 pa Δ āb, to jump.
 pā-pā Δ āb, to shine.
 beh Δ ḫeb-ḫeb, to strike.
 plotsh Δ dsharb, naked.
 peltsh-e Δ shorp, old.
 penh Δ ḫenp, to catch.
 pursh-a, to break Δ sōlp, to cut,
 destroy.
 plik, to strike, to do stone-
 cutter's work Δ kelp, fist,
 stick.
 nesh Δ ashen, to terrify.
 pash-f, net Δ shop, to catch.
 peḫ Δ ḫep, to go.
 beh Δ ḫab, to incline.
 peḫ Δ ḫeb, to cut.
 rek, to bend Δ kel, to bend,
 kr-os, a ring.
 rek, to turn round Δ kor-ker,
 to turn about, to fly.
 rek, to cut, divide Δ kār-tī,
 knife.
 rok-h Δ kor-h, to burn.
 rek Δ kr-r, keial, to burn.
 reṭ Δ djor-j, to net, to entrap.
 reḫ-s, to { ḫer-s, to cut, divide.
 cut Δ { tshor-te, knife.
 { kkōl, to stab.
 reḫ-t Δ ḫer, to measure.
 rōsh-e Δ dshōr, tshor-tsh, to
 see.
 rosh-resh Δ shair-i, red.
 rash, to cut Δ shar, to divide.
 sa Δ as, to proceed, progress.
 sa v āis, sarcophagus.

sab Δ besh, to wash.
 seb Δ besh-t, bad, enemy.
 seb Δ bas, to cut.
 s-bek Δ s-keb, thigh.
 s-ben Δ s-neb, tie.
 s-reḫ Δ s-ḫer, throne, raised
 seat.
 ṭep, tap-t, to eat Δ pāt, food.
 sol, sāl, lux Δ resh, to see.
 sem-ṭt Δ mes-ṭm, antimony.
 se-t Δ as-t, the soil.
 s-ṭu ḫ Δ hāt, to cover.
 seḫ, sōh Δ ḫes-k, deaf.
 sesh Δ shes, becoming.
 sōsh Δ shōs, unbecoming.
 sef Δ fes, to wash, to clean.
 sakh Δ ḫas, to carve.
 soph (sof), beverage Δ pos,
 water.
 ṭa Δ āat-t, unclean.
 toi Δ āat, seat, dwelling.
 ṭeb Δ ā-pet, hippopotamus.
 tōb-i Δ pet, vessel.
 tik, to hurl Δ kat-o, arrow.
 t'ek-ā, to divide Δ ket, a morsel.
 tek-t, food Δ keṭ-ti, corn.
 ṭem Δ met-n, sword.
 ton Δ nut', to cut down, smash.
 ten-nu, to grow Δ natsh, great.
 t'en-nut Δ net'-a, wrath.
 t'ep Δ ā-pt, ship.
 tep Δ ā-pt, goose.
 ter Δ ā-redj, term, end, border.
 t'ar Δ rodj, to see.
 ṭes, to divide Δ shet, amputate.
 ṭeḫ, to irrigate Δ ḫet, to flow.
 ṭeḫ Δ ḫet, to cut down.
 teh Δ ḫet, to proceed.
 teḫ-u Δ hāt, to bawl, hurrah.

tef Δ fotsh, to leap.
 tadj Δ shôt-i, substance, mass.
 xa, rope Δ ho-k, to tie, bind.
 xā Δ ax, to put, place, fling.
 xa-u Δ āx, altar.
 xau Δ ux-a, night.
 xeb Δ beh, to bend.
 xeb Δ beh, to strike.
 xeb Δ beh, to cut.
 kheib-i Δ beh-t, shade.
 ôt Δ t'e-ṭa, fat.
 sha Δ esh-she, becoming.
 sho Δ osh, much.
 shnā Δ ansh, the wind, to
 blow.
 shen-t Δ nesh-t, to smash, strike
 down, break to pieces.
 shep Δ ā-pesh, splendour.
 shap Δ pesh, to divide.
 shōp, to move Δ pōsh-s, to re-
 move.
 ūa Δ au, to carry, bear.
 khōl Δ lok-s, to prick, stab.

kher Δ pōkh-t, reḫ-s, to strike,
 smash.
 hou, more Δ uoh, also, and.
 hā Δ oh-i, heap, multitude.
 heb-s Δ beh-n, to cover.
 hob-s, to go round Δ bik-i,
 girdle.
 ham Δ meḫ-i, a fish.
 hem Δ ā-meh, to see.
 hen Δ neh, to adore.
 han Δ a-nḫ, a plant, vegetable.
 hank Δ konh, to grow, blossom.
 hep Δ peḫ, to move, go.
 djob Δ pordj, to break.
 pert' Δ torp, to smash, break.
 her-sh Δ rokḫ-t, to smash.
 djau, to chew Δ uadj-i, the jaw.
 tshen Δ uesh, narrow.
 djom, dshom, force Δ mash, to
 be able.
 tshol, to rob Δ latsh, to exact.
 tshōlp, to reveal Δ bredsh,
 lightning.

B.—INVERSION OF SENSE.

bāḫ, full \vee empty.
 meḫ, empty \vee meḫ, full.
 ṭem, to sunder \vee ṭem, ṭem-i,
 tōm, to join.
 nāsh, small, weak \vee nesh-t, big,
 strong.
 neh, to cut, sunder, separate \vee
 noh, rope.
 tauf, to burn \vee djaf, cold.
 xer-s, to divide \vee xer-sh, to
 join.
 sam, darkness \vee sem, to become
 visible.

sat, to throw away \vee set, to
 recover.
 sesh, becoming \vee sōsh, unbe-
 coming.
 tes, to sunder \vee teshtesh, to
 mix.
 āft, to jump \vee to rest quiet.
 kef, to take up \vee to let lie.
 ken, strong \vee weak.
 men, to stand \vee menmen, to
 move.
 tūa, to honour \vee to despise.
 terp, to take \vee to give.
 xen, to stand \vee to go.

C.—INVERSION OF SOUND AND SENSE.

ben, to be absent, nothing ◇ neb, nib, all.	sem-â, to show ◇ mesh-e, to seek.
bredsh, splendour ◇ χreb, darkness.	χen-st, knot } ◇ nek, to cut. hen, to tie. }
kar, wise ◇ rak-a, stupid.	sōsh, unbecoming ◇ shes, be- coming.
mer, left hand ◇ rem, right hand.	tâ, to cut, divide ◇ ot, to tie up, join, connect.
meh, full ◇ χem, empty.	tem, to sunder ◇ modj-t, to connect.
noh, to run ◇ χen, to stand still.	toh, to consolidate ◇ het, to destroy.
nâsh, weak, feeble ◇ tshn-e, strong.	teh, to run ◇ ket, to stand still, rest.
ot, to tie ◇ tâ, to cut.	χen, to rest ◇ noh, to run, leap.
pir, fire, light ◇ reb, dark.	χreb, darkness ◇ bredsh, brightness.
pert', to tear ◇ t'erp, to sow.	χerr-sh, to connect ◇ rek, to separate.
peχ, to cut, divide ◇ hop-t, to tie, join.	o-djep, cold ◇ u-beχ, to glow.
pesh, to divide ◇ sheb, to join, mix.	hel-hōl, to extend ◇ lik, to draw together.
pesh, to destroy ◇ sâp, to create, shape.	neh, to separate ◇ hn, to tie.
pah, to divide ◇ hop-t, to join.	hōp-t, to join ◇ pah, to cut, divide.
lōk, ardere, lucere ◇ hlo-l, dark.	
mes-î, darkness ◇ sem, to be- come visible.	

These tables include Hieroglyphic, Demotic, and Coptic words promiscuously. Attention is directed to the occurrence of the same words in the three tables, showing roots to have undergone the three metamorphoses simultaneously.

Prospectus.

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